COLUMBUS AT THE MOUTH OF THE ORINOCO.

Page 34.

Young Folks' Series.

A BOOK OF

AMERICAN EXPLORERS

BY

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DEDICATION.

TO

GEORGE BARRELL EMERSON,

WITHOUT WHOSE COUNSEL AND WHOSE EFFICIENT KINDNESS THIS HISTORICAL SERIES WOULD NEVER HAVE BEEN UNDERTAKEN,

THIS VOLUME

IS RESPECTFULLY AND AFFECTIONATELY

INSCRIBED.

PREFACE.

IT has always seemed to me that the narratives of the early discoverers and explorers of the American coast were as interesting as "Robinson Crusoe," and were, indeed, very much like it. This has led me to make a series of extracts from these narratives, selecting what appeared to me the most interesting parts, and altering only the spelling. The grammar is not always correct; but it would be impossible to alter that without changing the style of writing too much: so it has not been changed at all. Wherever it has seemed necessary, I have put a word of my own in brackets [thus]; but all else is the very language of the old writers, or their translators. Whenever any thing has been omitted, great or small, the place is marked by dots. . . . Some of the hardest words have been explained by footnotes.

One great thing which I have wished my readers to learn is the charm of an original narrative. We should all rather hear a shipwreck described by a sailor who

was on board the ship than to read the best account of it afterwards prepared by the most skilful writer. What I most desire is, that those who have here acquired a taste for these old stories should turn to the books from which the extracts are taken, and follow up the study for themselves. Then they can go with renewed interest to the pages of Bancroft and Parkman, or at least to my own "Young Folks' History," for the thread on which these quaint narratives may be strung.

The explorers of various nations are represented in this book. There are Northmen, Italians, Englishmen, Frenchmen, Spaniards, and Dutchmen. Where the original narrative was in some foreign language, that translation has been chosen which gives most of the spirit of the original; and Mr. Cabot's versions of the Norse legends were especially selected for this reason. It seemed proper to begin the book with these; and it is brought down to the time when the Virginia and Massachusetts colonies, with that of the New Netherlands, were fairly planted on the American shore.

Possibly, at some future time, I may recommence with the Massachusetts colonies, and tell their story, down to the Revolution; either in a book of extracts, like this, or in my own words. T. W. H.

NEWPORT, R.I., March 1, 1877.

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BOOK I.

THE LEGENDS OF THE NORTHMEN.

(A.D. 985–1008.)

THESE extracts are taken from two Icelandic works called *Thättr Eireks Randa* (the piece about Eirek the Red) and *Graenlendinga Thätt* (the piece about the Greenlanders). These passages were translated by J. Elliot Cabot, Esq., and were published in "The Massachusetts Quarterly Review" for March, 1849.

It is now the general belief of historians, that these legends are mainly correct; and that the region described as Vinland was a part of the North-American Continent. Beyond this we do not know. The poet Whittier has written thus of these early explorers, in his poem called "The Norsemen:" —

"What sea-worn barks are those which throw
The light spray from each rushing prow?
Have they not in the North Sea's blast
Bowed to the waves the straining mast?
Their frozen sails the low, pale sun
Of Thule's night has shone upon;
Flapped by the sea-wind's gusty sweep,
Round icy drift and headland steep.
Wild Jutland's wives and Lochlin's daughters
Have watched them fading o'er the waters,
Lessening through driving mist and spray,
Like white-winged sea-birds on their way.

Onward they glide; and now I view
Their iron-armed and stalwart crew:
Joy glistens in each wild blue eye
Turned to green earth and summer sky:
Each broad, seamed breast has cast aside
Its cumbering vest of shaggy hide:
Bared to the sun, and soft warm air,
Streams back the Norseman's yellow hair.
I see the gleam of axe and spear;
The sound of smitten shields I hear,
Keeping a harsh and fitting time
To Saga's chant and Runic rhyme."

THE LEGENDS OF THE NORTHMEN.

I. — How the Northmen discovered North America.

[About the year 860, a Danish sailor named Gardar was driven upon the shores of Iceland, after which that island was settled by a colony from Norway. About a hundred years later, Greenland was settled from Iceland; Eirek the Red being the first to make the voyage. With him went one Heriulf, whose son Biarni had been in the habit of passing every other winter with his father, and then sailing on distant voyages. Then happened what follows.]

THAT same summer (985 or 986) came Biarni with his ship to Eyrar (Iceland), in the spring of which his father had sailed from the island. These tidings seemed to Biarni weighty, and he would not unload his ship. Then asked his sailors[1] what he meant to do. He answered, that he meant to hold to his wont,[2] and winter with his father; "and I will bear for Greenland, if you will follow me thither." All said they would do as he wished. Then said Biarni, "Imprudent they will think our voyage, since none of us has been in the Greenland Sea."

[1] i.e., his sailors asked. [2] Custom.

Yet they bore out to sea as soon as they were bound,[1] and sailed three days, till the land was sunk.[2] Then the fair wind fell off, and there arose north winds and fogs, and they knew not whither they fared; and so it went for many days. After that, they saw the sun, and could then get their bearings. Then they hoisted sail, and sailed that day before they saw land; and they counselled with themselves what land that might be.

A NORSE SHIP.

But Biarni said he thought it could not be Greenland. They asked him whether he would sail to the land, or not. "This is my counsel, to sail nigh to the land," said he. And so they did, and soon saw that the land was without fells,[3] and wooded, and small heights on the land; and they left the land to larboard, and let the

1 Or "made ready," as we say a ship is bound for Liverpool.

2 Disappeared below the horizon.

3 Mountains. This has been supposed to be Cape Cod.

foot of the sail look towards land.[1] After that, they sailed two days before they saw another land. They asked if Biarni thought this was Greenland. He said he thought it no more Greenland than the first; "for the glaciers are very huge, as they say, in Greenland." They soon neared the land, and saw that it was flat land, and overgrown with wood.[2] Then the fair wind fell. Then the sailors said that it seemed prudent to them to land there; but Biarni would not. They thought they needed both wood and water. "Of neither are you in want," said Biarni; but he got some hard speeches for that from his sailors. He bade them hoist sail, and so they did; and they turned the bows from the land, and sailed out to sea with a west-south wind three days, and saw a third land; but that land was high, mountainous, and covered with glaciers.[3] They asked then if Biarni would put ashore there; but he said he would not, "for this land seems to me not very promising." They did not lower their sails, but held on along this land, and saw that it was an island; but they turned the stern to the land, and sailed seawards with the same fair wind. But the wind rose; and Biarni bade them shorten sail, and not to carry more than their ship and tackle would bear. They sailed now four days, then saw they land the fourth. Then they asked Biarni whether he thought that was Greenland, or not. Biarni answered, "That is likest to what is said to me of Greenland; and we will put ashore." So they did, and landed under a certain ness[4] at evening of the day. And there was a boat at the ness, and

[1] i.e., sailed away from the land.
[2] Possibly Nova Scotia.
[3] Possibly Newfoundland.
[4] Cape, or *nose*, of land.

there lived Heriulf, the father of Biarni, on this ness; and from him has the ness taken its name, and is since called Heriulfsness. Now fared [1] Biarni to his father, and gave up sailing, and was with his father whilst Heriulf lived, and afterwards lived there after his father.

II. — The Voyage of Leif the Lucky.

[After Biarni had reached the Greenland settlement, and told his story, he was blamed for not having explored these unknown lands more carefully; and Leif the Lucky bought Biarni's vessel, and set sail with thirty-five companions, to see what he could discover.]

(A.D. 999.) First they found the land which Biarni had found last. Then sailed they to the land, and cast anchor, and put off a boat, and went ashore, and saw there no grass. Mickle [2] glaciers were over all the higher parts; but it was like a plain of rock from the glaciers to the sea, and it seemed to them that the land was good for nothing. Then said Leif, "We have not done about this land like Biarni, not to go upon it: now I will give a name to the land, and call it Helluland (flat-stone land)." [3] Then they went to their ship. After that they sailed into the sea, and found another land, sailed up to it, and cast anchor; then put off a boat, and went ashore. This land was flat, and covered with wood and broad white sands wherever they went, and the shore was low. Then said Leif, "From its make [4] shall a name be given to this land; and it shall be called Markland (Woodland)." [5] Then they went quickly

[1] Went. [2] Great.
[3] Perhaps Labrador, where flat stones abound, or Newfoundland.
[4] Form. [5] Perhaps Nova Scotia.

down to the vessel. Now they sailed thence into the sea with a north-east wind, and were out two days before they saw land; and they sailed to land, and came to an island that lay north of the land; and they went on to it, and looked about them in good weather, and found that dew lay upon the grass;[1] and that happened that they put their hands in the dew, and brought it to their mouths, and they thought they had never known any thing so sweet as that was. Then they went to their ship, and sailed into that sound that lay between the island and a ness[2] which went northward from the land, and then steered westward past the ness. There were great shoals at ebb-tide; and their vessel stood up;[3] and it was far to see from the ship to the sea. But they were so curious to fare to the land, that they could not bear to bide till the sea came under their ship, and ran ashore where a river flows out from a lake. But, when the sea came under their ship, then took they the boat, and rowed to the ship, and took it up into the river, and then into the lake, and there cast anchor, and bore from the ship their skin-cots,[4] and made their booths.

Afterwards they took counsel to stay there that winter, and made there great houses. There was no scarcity of salmon in the rivers and lakes, and larger salmon than they had before seen. There was the land so good, as it seemed to them, that no cattle would want fodder for the winter. There came no frost in the winter, and little did the grass fall off there. Day

[1] Perhaps honey-dew, a sweet substance left on grass by an insect called *aphis*. [2] Cape. [3] i.e., was left aground.

[4] Cots used to sleep in, and made of skin.

and night were more equal there than in Greenland or Iceland. . . . But when they had ended their house-building, then said Leif to his companions, "Now let our company be divided into two parts, and the land kenned;[1] and one half of the people shall be at the house at home, but the other half shall ken the land, and fare not further than that they may come home at evening, and they shall not separate." Now so they did one time. Leif changed about, so that he went with them (one day) and (the next) was at home at the house. Leif was a mickle[2] man and stout, most noble to see, a wise man, and moderate in all things.

III. — Leif finds Vines, and goes back to Greenland.

One evening it chanced that a man was wanting of their people; and this was Tyrker, the Southerner.[3] Leif took this very ill; for Tyrker had been long with his parents, and loved Leif much in his childhood. Leif now chid his people sharply, and made ready to fare forth to seek him, and twelve men with him. But when they had gone a little way, there came Tyrker to meet them, and was joyfully received. Leif found at once that his old friend was somewhat out of his mind: he was bustling and unsteady-eyed, freckled in face, little and wizened in growth, but a man of skill in all arts. Then said Leif to him, "Why wert thou so late, my fosterer,[4] and separated from the party?" He

[1] Surveyed. [2] Large. [3] German.
[4] Foster-father, or perhaps foster-brother.

talked at first a long while in German, and rolled many ways his eyes, and twisted his face; but they skilled not what he said. He said then in Norse, after a time, "I went not very far; but I have great news to tell. I have found grape-vines and grapes." — "Can that be true, my fosterer?" quoth Leif. "Surely it is true," quoth he; "for I was brought up where there is no want of grape-vines or grapes." Then they slept for the night; but in the morning Leif said to his sailors, "Now we shall have two jobs: each day we will either gather grapes, or hew grape-vines, and fell trees, so there will be a cargo for my ship;" and that was the counsel taken. It is said that their long boat was filled with grapes. Now was hewn a cargo for the ship; And when spring came they got ready, and sailed off; and Leif gave a name to the land after its sort, and called it Vinland (Wine-Land). They sailed then afterwards into the sea, and had a fair wind until they saw Greenland, and the fells [1] under the glaciers. . . . After that he was called Leif the Lucky. Leif was now both well to do and honored. . . .

Now there was a great talk about Leif's Vinland voyage; and Thorvald, his brother, thought the land had been too little explored. Then said Leif to Thorvald, "Thou shalt go with my ship, brother, if thou wilt, to Vinland." [2]

[1] Mountains.

[2] There has been much difference of opinion as to where Vinland was. Some think that it was Nantucket; others, the island of Conanicut in Narragansett Bay; and others, some place much farther north and east. See Costa's "Pre-Columbian Discovery of North America," Anderson's "Norsemen in America," Kohl's "History of the Discovery of the East Coast of North America," published by the Maine Historical Society.

IV. — Thorvald, Leif's Brother, goes to Vinland.

Now Thorvald made ready for this voyage with thirty men, with the counsel thereon of Leif, his brother. Then they fitted out their ship, and bore out to sea (A.D. 1002): and there is nothing told of their voyage before they came to Vinland, to Leif's booths; and they laid up their ship, and dwelt in peace there that winter, and caught fish for their meat. But in the spring, Thorvald said they would get ready their ship, and send their long-boat, and some men with it, along to the westward of the land, and explore it during the summer. The land seemed to them fair and woody, and narrow between the woods and the sea, and of white sand. There were many islands and great shoals. They found neither man's abode nor beast's; but, on an island to the westward, they found a corn-shed of wood. More works of men they found not; and they went back, and came to Leif's booths in the fall. But the next summer fared Thorvald eastward with the merchant-ship, and coasted to the northward. Here a heavy storm arose as they were passing one of two capes, and drove them up there, and broke the keel under the ship; and they dwelt there long, and mended their ship. Then said Thorvald to his companions, "Now will I that we raise up here the keel on the ness,[1] and call it Keelness;"[2] and so they did.

After that, they sailed thence, and coasted to the eastward, and into the mouths of the firths[3] that were nearest to them, and to a headland that stretched out.

[1] Cape. [2] Possibly Cape Cod. [3] Bays.

This was all covered with wood: here they brought the ship into harbor, and shoved a bridge on to the land, and Thorvald went ashore with all his company. He said then, "Here it is fair, and here would I like to raise my dwelling." They went then to the ship, and saw upon the sands within the headland three heights; and they went thither, and saw there three skin-boats, and three men under each. Then they divided their people, and laid hands on them all, except one that got off with his boat. They killed these eight, and went then back to the headland, and looked about them there, and saw in the firth some heights, and thought they were dwellings. After that there came a heaviness on them so great that they could not keep awake; and all slumbered. Then came a call above them, so that they all awoke. Thus said the call, "Awake, Thorvald, and all thy company, if thou wilt keep thy life; and fare thou to thy ship, and all thy men, and fare from the land of the quickest."[1] Then came from the firth innumerable skin-boats, and made toward them.

Throvald said then, "We will set up our battle-shields, and guard ourselves the best we can, but fight little against them." So they did, and the Skraelings[2] shot at them for a while, but then fled, each as fast as he could. Then Thorvald asked his men if any of them was hurt: they said they were not hurt. "I have got a hurt under the arm," said he; "for an arrow flew between the bulwarks and the shield under my arm; and here is the arrow, and that will be my death. Now I counsel that ye make ready as quickly as may be to return; but ye shall bear me to the headland which I

[1] i.e., as quickly as possible. [2] Probably Esquimaux, or Indians.

thought the likeliest place to build. It may be it was a true word I spoke, that I should dwell there for a time. There ye shall bury me, and set crosses at my head and feet, and call it Krossanes[1] henceforth." Greenland was then Christianized; but Eirek the Red had died before Christianity came thither.

Now Thorvald died; but they did every thing according as he had said, and then went and found their companions, and told each other the news they had to tell, and lived there that winter, and gathered grapes and vines for loading the ship. Then in the spring they made ready to sail for Greenland, and came with their ship to Eireksfirth, and had great tidings to tell to Leif.

V. — Karlsefni's Adventures.

[Karlsefni, a rich Norwegian, came to Greenland, staid at Leif's house, married a wife, and was finally persuaded to bring a colony of sixty men and five women to Vinland.]

This agreement made Karlsefni and his seamen, that they should have even handed[2] all that they should get in the way of goods. They had with them all sorts of cattle, as they thought to settle there if they might. Karlsefni begged Leif for his house in Vinland; but he said he would lend him the house, but not give it. Then they bore out to the sea with the ship, and came to Leif's booths, hale and whole, and landed there their cattle. There soon came into their hands a great and good prize; for a whale was driven ashore, both great and good; then they went to cut up the whale, and

[1] Cross Cape, or Cape of the Cross. [2] i.e., in equal shares.

had no scarcity of food. The cattle went up into the country; and it soon happened that the male cattle became wild and unruly. They had with them a bull. Karlsefni had wood felled, and brought to the ship, and had the wood piled on the cliff to dry. They had all the good things of the country, both of grapes, and of all sorts of game and other things.

After the first winter came the summer; then they saw appear the Skraelings, and there came from out the wood a great number of men. Near by were their neat-cattle; and the bull took to bellowing, and roared loudly, whereat the Skraelings were frightened, and ran off with their bundles. These were furs and sable-skins, and skin-wares of all kinds. And they turned toward Karlsefni's booths, and wanted to get into the house; but Karlsefni had the doors guarded. Neither party understood the other's language. Then the Skraelings took down their bags, and opened them, and offered them for sale, and wanted, above all, to have weapons for them. But Karlsefni forbade them to sell weapons. He took this plan: he bade the women bring out their dairy-stuff [1] for them; and, so soon as they saw this, they would have that, and nothing more. Now this was the way the Skraelings traded: they bore off their wares in their stomachs. But Karlsefni and his companions had their bags and skin-wares, and so they parted. Now hereof is this to say, that Karlsefni had posts driven strongly round

ESQUIMAU BOAT.

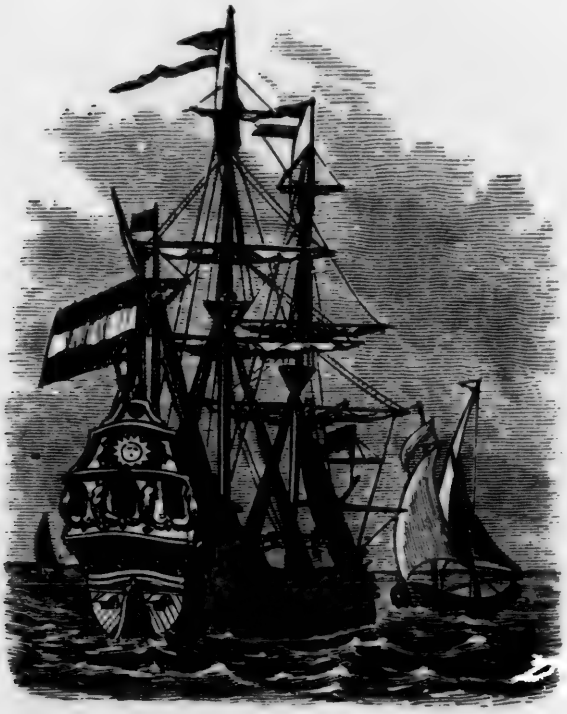
[1] Milk, butter, &c.

about his booths, and made all complete. At this time Gudrid, the wife of Karlsefni, bore a man-child, and he was called Snorri. In the beginning of the next winter the Skraelings came to them again, and were many more than before; and they had the same wares as before. Then Karlsefni said to the women, "Now bring forth the same food that was most liked before, and no other." And, when they saw it, they cast their bundles in over the fence. . . . [But one of them being killed by one of Karlsefni's men, they all fled in haste, and left their garments and wares behind.] "Now I think we need a good counsel," said Karlsefni; "for I think they will come for the third time in anger, and with many men. Now we must do this: ten men must go out on that ness,[1] and show themselves there; but another party must go into the wood, and hew a place for our neat-cattle when the foe shall come from the wood; and we must take the bull, and let him go before us." But thus it was with the place where they thought to meet, that a lake was on one side, and the wood on the other. Now it was done as Karlsefni had said. Now came the Skraelings to the place where Karlsefni had thought should be the battle; and now there was a battle, and many of the Skraelings fell.

There was one large and handsome man among the Skraelings; and Karlsefni thought he might be their leader. Now one of the Skraelings had taken up an axe, and looked at it a while, and struck at one of his fellows, and hit him, whereupon he fell dead; then the large man took the axe, and looked at it a while, and threw it into the sea as far as he could. But after that

[1] Cape.

they fled to the wood, each as fast as he could; and thus ended the strife. Karlsefni and his companions were there all that winter; but in the spring Karlsefni said he would stay there no longer, and would fare to Greenland. Now they made ready for the voyage, and bare thence much goods, namely, grape-vines and grapes and skin-wares. Now they sailed into the sea, and came whole with their ships to Eireksfirth, and were there that winter.



DUTCH MAN-OF-WAR.

RECEPTION OF COLUMBUS BY FERDINAND AND ISABELLA.

The following passages are taken from "Select Letters of Christopher Columbus," published by the Hakluyt Society, London, 1847, pp. 1-17, 20-22, 27, 33-36, 40-42, 114-121, 129-138, 200-202, 205-210, 214-225. These letters were translated by R. H. Major, Esq., of the British Museum.

BOOK II.

COLUMBUS AND HIS COMPANIONS.

(A.D. 1492–1503.)

COLUMBUS AND HIS COMPANIONS.

I.—The First Letter from Columbus.

[This letter was written on board ship, by Columbus, March 14, 1493, "to the noble Lord Raphael Sanchez, Treasurer to their most invincible Majesties, Ferdinand and Isabella, King and Queen of Spain." It was written in Spanish, but the original is supposed to be lost. Latin translations of it were made and published in different cities; and a poetical translation was made in Italian, and was sung about the streets of Italy.

KNOWING that it will afford you pleasure to learn that I have brought my undertaking to a successful termination, I have decided upon writing you this letter to acquaint you with all the events which have occurred in my voyage, and the discoveries which have resulted from it. Thirty-three days after my departure from Cadiz, I reached the Indian Sea,[1] where I discovered many islands, thickly peopled, of which I took possession, without resistance, in the name of our most illustrious Monarch, by public proclamation and with unfurled banners. To the first of these islands, which

[1] Columbus always supposed that he had reached India, and therefore always called the natives Indians.

is called by the Indians Guanahani, I gave the name of the blessed Saviour (San Salvador), relying upon whose protection I had reached this as well as the other islands. To each of these I also gave a name, ordering that one should be called Santa Maria de la Concepcion; another, Fernandina; the third, Isabella; the fourth, Juana; and so with all the rest respectively. As soon as we arrived at that, which, as I have said, was named Juana,[1] I proceeded along its coast a short distance westward, and found it to be so large, and apparently without termination, that I could not suppose it to be an island, but the continental province of Cathay.[2] Seeing, however, no towns or populous places on the seacoast, but only a few detached houses and cottages, with whose inhabitants I was unable to communicate, because they fled as soon as they saw us, I went further on, thinking, that, in my progress, I should certainly find some city or village.

At length, after proceeding a great way, and finding that nothing new presented itself, and that the line of coast was leading us northwards, I resolved not to attempt any further progress, but rather to turn back, and retrace my course to a certain bay that I had observed, and from which I afterwards despatched two of our men to ascertain whether there were a king or any cities in that province. These men reconnoitred the country for three days, and found a most numerous population, and great numbers of houses, though small, and built without any regard to order; with which information they returned to us. In the mean time, I had learned from some Indians whom I had seized, that that country was

[1] Cuba. [2] Or Tartary.

certainly an island; and therefore I sailed towards the east, coasting to the distance of three hundred and twenty-two miles, which brought us to the extremity of it: from this point I saw lying eastwards another island, fifty-four miles distant from Juana, to which I gave the name of Española.[1] . . .

All these islands are very beautiful, and distinguished by a diversity of scenery. They are filled with a great variety of trees of immense height, and which I believe to retain their foliage in all seasons; for when I saw them they were as verdant and luxuriant as they usually are in Spain in the month of May, — some of them were blossoming, some bearing fruit, and all flourishing in the greatest perfection, according to their respective stages of growth, and the nature and quality of each: yet the islands are not so thickly wooded as to be impassable. The nightingale and various birds were singing in countless numbers, and that in November, the month in which I arrived there. . . .

None of them,[2] as I have already said, are possessed of any iron; neither have they weapons, being unacquainted with, and, indeed, incompetent to use, them; not from any deformity of body — for they are well formed, — but because they are timid, and full of fear. They carry, however, in lieu[3] of arms, canes dried in the sun, on the ends of which they fix heads of dried wood sharpened to a point: and even these they dare not use habitually; for it has often occurred, when I have sent two or three of my men to any of the villages to speak with the natives, that they have come out in a disorderly

[1] Or Hispaniola, meaning Little Spain. The island is now called Hayti. [2] The natives. [3] Instead.

troop, and have fled in such haste, at the approach of our men, that the fathers forsook their children, and the children their fathers.

This timidity did not arise from any loss or injury that they had received from us; for, on the contrary, I gave to all I approached whatever articles I had about me, such as cloth, and many other things, taking nothing of theirs in return: but they are naturally timid and fearful. As soon, however, as they see that they are safe, and have laid aside all fear, they are very simple and honest, and exceedingly liberal with all that they have, none of them refusing any thing he may possess when he is asked for it, but, on the contrary, inviting us to ask them. They exhibit great love towards all others in preference to themselves: they also give objects of great value for trifles, and content themselves with very little, or nothing, in return. I, however, forbade that these trifles and articles of no value — such as pieces of dishes, plates and glass, keys, and leather straps — should be given to them, although, if they could obtain them, they imagined themselves to be possessed of the most beautiful trinkets in the world. It even happened that a sailor received for a leather strap as much gold as was worth three golden nobles; and for things of more trifling value offered by our men, especially newly coined *blancas*,[1] or any gold coins, the Indians would give whatever the seller required; as, for instance, an ounce and a half or two ounces of gold, or thirty or forty pounds of cotton; with which commodity they were already acquainted.

[1] A small coin, worth less than a cent. A noble was a gold coin, worth about $1.60.

Thus they bartered, like idiots, cotton and gold for fragments of bows, glasses, bottles, and jars; which I forbade, as being unjust, and myself gave them many beautiful and acceptable articles which I had brought with me, taking nothing from them in return. I did this in order that I might the more easily conciliate them, that they might be led to become Christians, and be inclined to entertain a regard for the king and queen, our princes, and all Spaniards; and that I might induce them to take an interest in seeking out, and collecting, and delivering to us, such things as they possessed in abundance, but which we greatly needed.

They practise no kind of idolatry, but have a firm belief that all strength and power, and indeed all good things, are in heaven, and I had descended from thence with these ships and sailors; and under this impression was I received after they had thrown aside their fears. Nor are they slow or stupid, but of very clear understanding; and those men who have crossed to the neighboring islands give an admirable description of every thing they observed: but they never saw any people clothed, nor any ships like ours.

On my arrival at that sea, I had taken some Indians by force from the first island that I came to, in order that they might learn our language, and communicate to us what they knew respecting the country; which plan succeeded excellently, and was a great advantage to us; for in a short time, either by gestures and signs, or by words, we were enabled to understand each other. These men are still travelling with me, and, although they have been with us now a long time, they continue to entertain the idea that I have descended from heaven;

and on our arrival at any new place they publish this, crying out immediately with a loud voice to the other Indians, "Come! come and look upon beings of a celestial race;" upon which both women and men, children and adults, young men and old, when they got rid of the fear they at first entertained, would come out in throngs, crowding the roads to see us, some bringing food, others drink, with astonishing affection and kindness.

Each of these islands has a great number of canoes, built of solid wood, narrow, and not unlike our double-banked boats in length and shape, but swifter in their motion: they steer them only by the oar. These canoes are of various sizes; but the greater number are constructed with eighteen banks[1] of oars: and with these they cross to the other islands, which are of countless number, to carry on traffic with the people. I saw some of these canoes that held as many as seventy-eight rowers. In all these islands there is no difference of physiognomy, of manners, or of language; but they all clearly understand each other. . . . There are in the western part of the island two provinces which I did not visit: one of these is called by the Indians Anam, and its inhabitants are born with tails.[2] . . .

Finally, to compress into few words the entire summary of my voyage and speedy return, and of the advantages derivable therefrom, I promise, that, with a little assistance afforded me by our most invincible sovereigns, I will procure them as much gold as they need, as great a quantity of spices, of cotton, and of

[1] A bank of oars is a bench on which rowers sit, and there may have been four rowers on each bench.

[2] No such race has ever been found.

mastic, which is only found at Chios, and as many men for the service of the navy, as their Majesties may require. I promise, also, rhubarb and other sorts of drugs, which I am persuaded the men whom I have left in the aforesaid fortress have found already, and will continue to find. I myself have tarried nowhere longer than I was compelled to do by the winds, except in the city of Navidad, while I provided for the building of the fortress, and took the necessary precautions for the perfect security of the men I left there. Although all I have related may appear to be wonderful and unheard of, yet the results of my voyage would have been more astonishing, if I had had at my disposal such ships as I required. . . .

Thus it has happened to me in the present instance, who have accomplished a task to which the powers of mortal man have never hitherto attained; for, if there have been those who have anywhere written or spoken of these islands, they have done so with doubts and conjectures; and no one has ever asserted that he has seen them, on which account their writings have been looked upon as little else than fables. Therefore let the king and queen, our princes and their most happy kingdoms, and all the other provinces of Christendom, render thanks to our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who has granted us so great a victory, and such prosperity. Let processions be made, and sacred feasts be held, and the temples be adorned with festive boughs. Let Christ rejoice on earth, as he rejoices in heaven, in the prospect of the salvation of the souls of so many nations hitherto lost. Let us also rejoice, as well on account of the exaltation of our faith, as on account of

the increase of our temporal prosperity, of which not only Spain, but all Christendom, will be partakers.

Such are the events which I have briefly described.

Farewell. CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS,
Admiral of the Fleet of the Ocean.

LISBON, the 14th of March.

II. — SECOND VOYAGE OF COLUMBUS.

[This description is taken from a letter by Dr. Chanca, physician to the fleet of Columbus, to the authorities of Seville, Dr. Chanca's residence.]

ON the first Sunday after All Saints, namely, the 3d of November [1493], about dawn, a pilot of the ship "Capitana" cried out, "The reward! I see the land!" The joy of the people was so great, that it was wonderful to hear their cries and exclamations of pleasure. And they had good reason to be delighted; for they had become so wearied of bad living, and of working the water out of the ships, that all sighed most anxiously for land. . . .

On the morning of the aforesaid Sunday, we saw lying before us an island;[1] and soon on the right hand another appeared: the first was high and mountainous, on the side nearest to us; the other flat, and very thickly wooded. As soon as it became lighter, other islands began to appear on both sides; so that on that day there were six islands to be seen lying in different directions, and most of them of considerable size. We directed our course towards that which we had first

[1] Dominica, so named from being discovered on Sunday.

seen; and, reaching the coast, we proceeded more than a league in search of a port where we might anchor, but without finding one. All that part of the island which we could observe appeared mountainous, very beautiful, and green even up to the water, which was delightful to see; for at that season there is scarcely any thing green in our own country. When we found that there was no harbor there, the admiral decided that we should go to the other island, which appeared on the right, and which was at four or five leagues distance: one vessel, however, still remained on the first island all that day, seeking for a harbor, in case it should be necessary to return thither. At length, having found a good one, where they saw both people and dwellings, they returned that night to the fleet, which had put into harbor at the other island;[1] and there the admiral, accompanied by a great number of men, landed with a royal banner in his hands, and took formal possession in behalf of their Majesties. . . .

On this first day of our landing, several men and women came on the beach up to the water's edge, and gazed at the boats in astonishment at so novel a sight; and, when a boat pushed on shore to speak with them, they cried out, "*Tayno, tayno!*" which is as much as to say, "Good, good!" and waited for the landing of the sailors, standing by the boat in such a manner that they might escape when they pleased. The result was, that none of the men could be persuaded to join us; and only two were taken by force, who were secured, and led away. . . .

Another day, at the dinner-hour, we arrived at an

[1] Marigalante, so named from the ship in which Columbus sailed.

island[1] which seemed to be worth finding; for, judging by the extent of cultivation in it, it appeared very populous. We went thither, and put into harbor, when the admiral immediately sent on shore a well-manned barge to hold speech with the Indians, in order to ascertain what race they were, and also because we considered it necessary to gain some information respecting our course; although it afterwards plainly appeared that the admiral, who had never made that passage before, had taken a very correct route. But, since doubtful questions ought always by investigation to be reduced as nearly to a certainty as possible, he wished that communication should be held with the natives at once; and some of the men who went in a barge leaped on shore, and went up to a village, whence the inhabitants had already withdrawn, and hidden themselves. They took in this island five or six women and some boys, most of whom were captives, like those in the other island. We learned from the women whom we had brought with us, that the natives of this place also were Caribbees. As this barge was about to return to the ships with the capture which they had taken, a canoe came along the coast, containing four men, two women, and a boy; and, when they saw the fleet, they were so stupefied with amazement, that for a good hour they remained motionless at the distance of nearly two gunshots from the ships. In this position they were seen by those who were in the barge, and also by all the fleet. Meanwhile, those in the barge moved towards the canoe, but so close in shore, that the Indians, in their perplexity and astonishment as to what all this

[1] St. Martin, one of the Caribbee Islands.

could mean, never saw them until they were so near that escape was impossible; for our men pressed on them so rapidly, that they could not get away, although they made considerable effort to do so.

When the Caribbees saw that all attempt at flight was useless, they most courageously took to their bows, both women and men: I say most courageously, because they were only four men and two women, and our people were twenty-five in number. Two of our men were wounded by the Indians, one with two arrow-shots in his breast, and another with one in his side; and if it had not happened that they carried shields and wooden bucklers, and that they got near them with the barge, and upset their canoe, most of them would have been killed with their arrows. After their canoe was upset, they remained in the water, swimming and occasionally wading — for there were shallows in that part, — still using their bows as much as they could; so that our men had enough to do to take them: and, after all, there was one of them whom they were unable to secure till he had received a mortal wound with a lance, and whom, thus wounded, they took to the ships. The difference between these Caribbees and the other Indians, with respect to dress, consists in their wearing their hair very long; while the others have it clipped irregularly, and paint their heads with crosses and a hundred thousand different devices, each according to his fancy, which they do with sharpened reeds. All of them, both the Caribbees and the others, are beardless; so that it is a rare thing to find a man with a beard. The Caribbees whom we took had their eyes and eyebrows stained, which I imagine they do from ostentation, and to give them a more formidable appearance. . . .

The country[1] is very remarkable, and contains a vast number of large rivers, and extensive chains of mountains, with broad open valleys; and the mountains are very high. It does not appear that the grass is ever cut throughout the year. I do not think they have any winter in this part; for near Navidad (at Christmas) were found many birds'-nests, some containing the young birds, and others containing eggs. No four-footed animal has ever been seen in this or any of the other islands, except some dogs of various colors, as in our own country, but in shape like large house-dogs; and also some little animals, in color, size, and fur like a rabbit, with long tails, and feet like those of a rat. These animals climb up the trees; and many who have tasted them say they are very good to eat.[2] There are not any wild beasts. There are great numbers of small snakes, and some lizards, but not many; for the Indians consider them as great a luxury as we do pheasants: they are of the same size as ours, but different in shape. In a small adjacent island, close by a harbor called Monte Christo, where we staid several days, our men saw an enormous kind of lizard,[3] which they said was as large round as a calf, with a tail as long as a lance, which they often went out to kill; but, bulky as it was, it got into the sea, so that they could not catch it. There are, both in this and the other islands, an infinite number of birds like those in our own country. and many others such as we had never seen. No kind of domestic fowl has been seen here, with the exception

[1] Hayti, or Española.

[2] Probably a species of *capromys*, an animal of the rat kind.

[3] Probably an alligator.

of some ducks in the houses in Zuruquia: these ducks were larger than those of Spain, though smaller than geese, — very pretty, with tufts on their heads, most of them as white as snow, but some black.

III. — Columbus reaches the Mainland.

[From his narrative of his third voyage, 1498.]

I THEN gave up our northward course, and put in for the land. At the hour of complines [1] we reached a cape, which I called Cape Galea,[2] having already given to the island the name of Trinidad; and here we found a harbor, which would have been excellent, but that there was no good anchorage. We saw houses and people on the spot; and the country around was very beautiful, and as fresh and green as the gardens of Valencia in the month of March. . . .

The next day I set sail in the same direction, in search of a harbor where I might repair the vessels, and take in water, as well as improve the stock of provisions which I had brought out with me. When we had taken in a pipe of water, we proceeded onwards till we reached the cape; and there finding good anchorage, and protection from the east wind, I ordered the anchors to be dropped, the water-cask to be repaired, a supply of water and wood to be taken in, and the people to rest themselves from the fatigues which they had endured for so long a time. I gave to this point the name of Sandy Point (Punta del Arenal).

[1] About nine, P.M., the last hour of Roman Catholic prayers.

[2] Now called Cape Galeota, the south-east point of Trinidad.

All the ground in the neighborhood was filled with footmarks of animals, like the impression of the foot of a goat; but, although it would have appeared from this circumstance that they were very numerous, only one was seen, and that was dead. On the following day a large canoe came from the eastward, containing twenty-four men, all in the prime of life, and well provided with arms, such as bows, arrows, and wooden shields. They were all, as I have said, young, well-proportioned, and not dark black, but whiter than any other Indians that I had seen, — of very graceful gesture and handsome forms, wearing their hair long and straight, and cut in the Spanish style. Their heads were bound round with cotton scarfs elaborately worked in colors, which resembled the Moorish head-dresses. Some of these scarfs were worn round the body, and used as a covering in lieu of trousers. The natives spoke to us from the canoe while it was yet at a considerable distance; but none of us could understand them. I made signs to them, however, to come nearer to us; and more than two hours were spent in this manner: but if, by any chance, they moved a little nearer, they soon pushed off again.

I caused basins and other shining objects to be shown to them to tempt them to come near; and, after a long time, they came somewhat nearer than they had hitherto done; upon which, as I was very anxious to speak with them, and had nothing else to show them to induce them to approach, I ordered a drum to be played upon the quarter-deck, and some of our young men to dance, believing the Indians would come to see the amusement. No sooner, however, did they perceive

the beating of the drum, and the dancing, than they all left their oars, and strung their bows, and, each man laying hold of his shield, they commenced discharging their arrows at us; upon this the music and dancing soon ceased, and I ordered a charge[1] to be made from some of our cross-bows: they then left us, and went rapidly to the other caravel,[2] and placed themselves under its poop. The pilot of that vessel received them courteously, and gave to the man who appeared to be their chief a coat and hat; and it was then arranged between them that he should go to speak with him on shore. Upon this the Indians immediately went thither, and waited for him; but, as he would not go without my permission, he came to my ship in the boat, whereupon the Indians got into their canoe again, and went away, and I never saw any more of them, or of any of the other inhabitants of the island.

When I reached the Point of Arenal, I found that the Island of Trinidad formed with the land of Gracia,[3] a strait of two leagues width from east to west; and, as we had to pass through it to go to the north, we found some strong currents which crossed the strait, and which made a great roaring, so that I concluded there must be a reef of sand or rocks, which would preclude our entrance: and behind this current was another and another, all making a roaring noise like the sound of breakers against the rocks. I anchored there, under the said Point of Arenal, outside of the strait, and found the water rush from east to west with as much

[1] Discharge. [2] A small vessel.

[3] The coast of Cumana (South America), distant seven miles from Trinidad.

impetuosity as that of the Guadalquiver at its conflict with the sea; and this continued constantly day and night, so that it appeared to be impossible to move backwards for the current, or forwards for the shoals.

IV. — Columbus at the Mouth of the Orinoco.

In the dead of night, while I was on deck, I heard an awful roaring that came from the south towards the ship. I stopped to observe what it might be, and I saw the sea rolling from west to east, like a mountain as high as the ship, and approaching by little and little. On the top of this rolling sea came a mighty wave, roaring with a frightful noise; and with all this terrific uproar were other conflicting currents, producing, as I have already said, a sound as of breakers upon the rocks. To this day I have a vivid recollection of the dread I then felt, lest the ship might founder under the force of that tremendous sea; but it passed by, and reached the mouth of the before-mentioned passage, where the uproar lasted for a considerable time. On the following day I sent out boats to take soundings, and found that in the strait, at the deepest part of the *embouchure*,[1] there were six or seven fathoms of water, and that there were constant contrary currents, — one running inwards, and the other outwards. It pleased the Lord, however, to give us a favorable wind; and I passed through the middle of the strait, after which I recovered my tranquillity. The men happened at this time to draw up some water from the sea, which, strange

[1] Mouth.

to say, proved to be fresh. I then sailed northwards till I came to a very high mountain, at about twenty-six leagues from the Punta del Arenal: here two lofty headlands appeared,—one towards the east,[1] and forming part of the Island of Trinidad; and the other on the west,[2] being part of the land which I have already called Gracia. We found here a channel[3] still narrower than that of Arenal, with similar currents, and a tremendous roaring of water: the water here also was fresh.

Hitherto I had held no communication with any of the people of this country, although I very earnestly desired it. I therefore sailed along the coast westwards; and, the farther I advanced, the fresher and more wholesome I found the water; and, when I had proceeded a considerable distance, I reached a spot where the land appeared to be cultivated. . . . I then anchored at the mouth of a river; and we were soon visited by a great number of the inhabitants, who informed us that the country was called Paria, and that farther westward it was more fully peopled. I took four of these natives, and proceeded on my west-

FLEET OF COLUMBUS.

[1] Point Peña Blanca. [2] Point Peña.
[3] Boca Grande. The fresh water was river water.

ward voyage; and, when I had gone eight leagues farther, I found on the other side of a point, which I called the Needle,[1] one of the most lovely countries in the world, and very thickly peopled. It was three o'clock in the morning when I reached it; and, seeing its verdure and beauty, I resolved to anchor there, and communicate with the inhabitants. Some of the natives came out to the ship in canoes, to beg me, in the name of their king, to go on shore. And, when they saw that I paid no attention to them, they came to the ship in their canoes in countless number; many of them wearing pieces of gold on their breasts, and some with bracelets of pearl on their arms.

V. — Columbus thinks Himself near the Earthly Paradise.

[From the same narrative. It was generally believed, in the time of Columbus, that the Garden of Eden, or earthly paradise, still existed somewhere on the globe. Irving's Columbus (appendix) gives an account of these views.]

I have always read, that the world comprising the land and water was spherical, as is testified by the investigations of Ptolemy and others, who have proved it by the eclipses of the moon, and other observations made from east to west, as well as by the elevation of the pole from north to south. But I have now seen so much irregularity, as I have already described, that I have come to another conclusion respecting the earth; namely, that it is not round, as they describe, but of the

[1] Now called Point Alcatraz, or Point Pelican.

form of a pear, which is very round except where the stalk grows, at which part it is most prominent. . . . Ptolemy, and the others who have written upon the globe, had no information respecting this part of the world, which was then unexplored: they only established their arguments with respect to their own hemisphere, which, as I have already said, is half of a perfect sphere. And, now that your Highnesses have commissioned me to make this voyage of discovery, the truths which I have stated are evidently proved. . . . I do not find, nor have ever found, any account by the Romans or Greeks, which fixes in a positive manner the site of the terrestrial paradise; neither have I seen it given in any *mappe-monde*,[1] laid down from authentic sources. Some placed it in Ethiopia, at the sources of the Nile; but others, traversing all these countries, found neither the temperature, nor the altitude of the sun, correspond with their ideas respecting it; nor did it appear that the overwhelming waters of the deluge had been there. Some Pagans pretended to adduce arguments to establish that it was in the Fortunate Islands, now called the Canaries, &c. . . .

I have already described my ideas concerning this hemisphere and its form; and I have no doubt, that if I could pass below the equinoctial line, after reaching the highest point of which I have spoken, I should find a much milder temperature, and a variation in the stars and in the water; not that I suppose that elevated point to be navigable, nor even that there is water there: indeed, I believe it is impossible to ascend thither, because I am convinced that it is the spot of

[1] Atlas.

the earthly paradise, whither no one can go but by God's permission. But this land which your Highnesses have now sent me to explore is very extensive; and I think there are many countries in the south, of which the world has never had any knowledge.

I do not suppose that the earthly paradise is in the form of a rugged mountain, as the descriptions of it have made it appear, but that it is on the summit of the spot which I have described as being in the form of the stalk of a pear. The approach to it from a distance must be by a constant and gradual ascent; but I believe, that, as I have already said, no one could ever reach the top. I think, also, that the water I have described may proceed from it, though it be far off, and that, stopping at the place which I have just left, it forms this lake. There are great indications of this being the terrestrial paradise; for its site coincides with the opinion of the holy and wise theologians whom I have mentioned. And, moreover, the other evidences agree with the supposition; for I have never either read or heard of fresh water coming in so large a quantity, in close conjunction with the water of the sea. The idea is also corroborated by the blandness of the temperature. And, if the water of which I speak does not proceed from the earthly paradise, it appears to be still more marvellous; for I do not believe that there is any river in the world so large or so deep.

VI. — Daring Deed of Diego Mendez.

[Taken from the last will of Diego Mendez. These adventures happened on the fourth voyage of Columbus, in 1502.]

When we were shut in at the mouth of the River Belen, or Yebra, through the violence of the sea, and the winds which drove up the sand, and raised such a mountain of it as to close up the entrance of the port, his lordship[1] being there greatly afflicted, a multitude of Indians collected together on shore to burn the ships, and kill us all, pretending that they were going to make war against other Indians. . . . Upon his consulting me as to the best manner of proceeding so as clearly to ascertain what was the intention of the people, I offered to go to them with one single companion; and this task I undertook, though more certain of death than of life in the result.

After journeying along the beach up to the River of Veragua, I found two canoes of strange Indians, who related to me more in detail, that these people were indeed collected together to burn our ships, and kill us all, and that they had forsaken their purpose in consequence of the boat which had come up to the spot, but that they intended to return after two days to make the attempt once more. I then asked them to carry me in their canoes to the upper part of the river, offering to remunerate them if they would do so. But they excused themselves, and advised me by no means to go, for that both myself and my companion would certainly be killed.

[1] Columbus.

At length, in spite of their advice, I prevailed upon them to take me in their canoes to the upper part of the river, until I reached the villages of the Indians, whom I had found in order of battle. They, however, would not, at first, allow me to go to the principal residence of the cacique, till I pretended that I was come as a surgeon to cure him of a wound that he had in his leg. Then, after making them some presents, they suffered me to proceed to the seat of royalty, which was situated on the top of a hillock, surmounted by a plain, with a large square surrounded by three hundred heads of the enemies he had slain in battle. When I had passed through the square, and reached the royal house, there was a great clamor of women and children at the gate, who ran into the palace screaming. Upon this, one of the chief's sons came out in a high passion, uttering angry words in his own language; and laying hands upon me, with one push he thrust me far away from him. In order to appease him, I told him I was come to cure the wound in his father's leg, and showed him an ointment that I had brought for that purpose; but he replied, that on no account whatever should I go in to the place where his father was. When I saw that I had no chance of appeasing him in that way, I took out a comb, a pair of scissors, and a mirror, and caused Escobar, my companion, to comb my hair, and then cut it off. When the Indian, and those who were with him, saw this, they stood in astonishment; upon which I prevailed on him to suffer his own hair to be combed and cut by Escobar. I then made him a present of the scissors, with the comb and the mirror; and thus he became appeased. After this, I begged him to allow

some food to be brought, which was soon done; and we ate and drank in love and good-fellowship, like very good friends.

I then left him, and returned to the ships, and related all this to my lord the admiral, who was not a little pleased when he heard all these circumstances, and the things that had happened to me. He ordered a large stock of provisions to be put into the ships, and into certain straw houses that we had built there, with a view that I should remain, with some of the men, to examine and ascertain the secrets of the country. The next morning his lordship called me to ask my advice as to what ought to be done. My opinion was, that we ought to seize that chief and all his captains, because, when they were taken, great numbers of the people would submit. His lordship was of the same opinion. I then submitted the stratagem and plan by which this might be accomplished; and his lordship ordered that the *adelantado*,[1] his brother, and I, accompanied by eighty men, should go to put it into execution. We went; and our Lord gave us such good fortune, that we took the cacique, and most of his captains, his wives, sons, and grandsons, with all the princes of his race; but in sending them to the ships, thus captured, the cacique extricated himself from the too slight grasp of the man who held him, — a circumstance which afterwards caused us much injury. At this moment it pleased God to cause it to rain very heavily, occasioning a great flood, by which the mouth of the harbor was opened, and the admiral enabled to draw out the ships to sea, in order to proceed to Spain;

[1] President, or governor.

I, meanwhile, remaining on land as accountant of his Highness, with seventy men, and the greater part of the provisions of biscuit, wine, oil, and vinegar being left with me.

VII. — How Diego Mendez got Food for Columbus.

[Also taken from the last will of Diego Mendez.]

On the last day of April, in the year fifteen hundred and three, we left Veragua, with three ships, intending to make our passage homeward to Spain; but, as the ships were all pierced and eaten by the teredo,[1] we could not keep them above water. We abandoned one of them after we had proceeded thirty leagues: the two which remained were even in a worse condition than that; so that all the hands were not sufficient, with the use of pumps and kettles and pans, to draw off the water that came through the holes made by the worms. In this state, with the utmost toil and danger, we sailed for thirty-five days, thinking to reach Spain; and at the end of this time we arrived at the lowest point of the island of Cuba, at the province of Homo, where the city of Trinidad now stands; so that we were three hundred leagues farther from Spain than when we left Veragua for the purpose of proceeding thither, — and this, as I have said, with the vessels in very bad condition, unfit to encounter the sea, and our provisions nearly gone. It pleased God that we were enabled to reach the island of Jamaica, where we drove the two

[1] Ship-worm.

ships on shore, and made of them two cabins, thatched with straw, in which we took up our dwelling; not, however, without considerable danger from the natives, who were not yet subdued, and who might easily set fire to our habitation in the night, in spite of the greatest watchfulness. It was there that I gave out the last ration of biscuit and wine.

I then took a sword in my hand, three men only accompanying me, and advanced into the island; for no one else dared go to seek food for the admiral and those who were with him. It pleased God that I found some people who were very gentle, and did us no harm, but received us cheerfully, and gave us food with hearty good-will. I then made a stipulation with the Indians who lived in a village called Aguacadiba, and with their cacique, that they should make cassava bread, and that they should hunt and fish to supply the admiral every day with a sufficient quantity of provisions, which they were to bring to the ships, where I promised there should be a person ready to pay them in blue beads, combs and knives, hawks-bells and fish-hooks, and other such articles, which we had with us for that purpose. With this understanding, I despatched one of the Spaniards whom I had brought with me to the admiral, in order that he might send a person to pay for the provisions, and secure their being sent. From thence I went to another village, at three leagues' distance from the former, and made a similar agreement with the natives and their cacique, and then despatched another Spaniard to the admiral, begging him to send another person with a similar object to this village. After this I went farther on, and came to a great cacique named Huarco, living in a place

which is now called Melilla, thirteen leagues from where the ships lay. I was very well received by him. He gave me plenty to eat, and ordered all his subjects to bring together, in the course of three days, a great quantity of provisions, which they did, and laid them before him, whereupon I paid him for them to his full satisfaction. I stipulated with him that they should furnish a constant supply, and engaged that there should be a person appointed to pay them.

Having made this arrangement, I sent the other Spaniard to the admiral, with the provisions they had given me, and then begged the cacique to allow me two Indians to go with me to the extremity of the island, — one to carry the hammock in which I slept, and the other carrying the food. In this manner I journeyed eastward to the end of the island, and came to a cacique who was named Ameyro, with whom I entered into close friendship. I gave him my name, and took his, which, amongst this people, is regarded as an evidence of brotherly attachment. I bought of him a very good canoe, and gave him in exchange an excellent brass helmet that I carried in a bag, a frock, and one of the two shirts that I had with me : I then put out to sea in this canoe, in search of the place that I had left, the cacique having given me six Indians to assist in guiding the canoe.

When I reached the spot to which I had despatched the provisions, I found there the Spaniards whom the admiral had sent ; and I loaded them with the victuals which I had brought with me, and went myself to the admiral, who gave me a very cordial reception. He was not satisfied with seeing and embracing me, but asked me

respecting every thing that had occurred in the voyage, and offered up thanks to God for having delivered me in safety from so barbarous a people. The men rejoiced greatly at my arrival; for there was not a loaf left in the ships when I returned to them with the means of allaying their hunger. This, and every day after that, the Indians came to the ships, loaded with provisions from the places where I had made the agreements; so that there was enough for the two hundred and thirty people who were with the admiral.

VIII. — How Diego Mendez saved Columbus.

[From the same narrative.]

Ten days after this, the admiral called me aside, and spoke to me of the great peril he was in, addressing me as follows: "Diego Mendez, my son, not one of those whom I have here with me has any idea of the great danger in which we stand, except myself and you; for we are but few in number, and these wild Indians are numerous, and very fickle and capricious; and whenever they may take it into their heads to come and burn us in our two ships, which we have made into straw-thatched cabins, they may easily do so by setting fire to them on the land side, and so destroy us all. The arrangement you have made with them for the supply of food, to which they agreed with such good-will, may soon prove disagreeable to them; and it would not be surprising, if, on the morrow, they were not to bring us any thing at all. In such case, we are not in a position to take it by main force, but shall be compelled to

accede to their terms. I have thought of a remedy, if you consider it advisable; which is, that some one should go out in the canoe that you have purchased, and make his way in it to Española, to purchase a vessel with which we may escape from the extremely dangerous position in which we now are. Tell me your opinion." To which I answered, "My lord, I distinctly see the danger in which we stand, which is much greater than would be readily imagined. With respect to the passage from this island to Española in so small a vessel as a canoe, I look upon it not merely as difficult, but impossible; for I know not who would venture to encounter so terrific a danger as to cross a gulf of forty leagues of sea, and amongst islands where the sea is so impetuous, and scarcely ever at rest."

His lordship did not agree with the opinion that I expressed, but adduced strong arguments to show that I was the person to undertake the enterprise. To which I replied, "My lord, I have many times put my life in danger to save yours and the lives of all those who are with you, and God has marvellously preserved me. In consequence of this, there have not been wanting murmurers, who have said that your lordship intrusts every honorable undertaking to me, while there are others amongst them who would perform them as well as I. My opinion is, therefore, that your lordship would do well to summon all the men, and lay this business before them; to see if, amongst them all, there is one who will volunteer to undertake it, which I certainly doubt; and, if all refuse, I will risk my life in your service, as I have many times already."

On the following day his lordship caused all the men

to appear together before him, and then opened the matter to them in the same manner as he had done to me. When they heard it, they were all silent, until some said that it was out of the question to speak of such a thing ; for it was impossible, in so small a craft, to cross a boisterous and perilous gulf of forty leagues' breadth, and to pass between those two islands, where very strong vessels had been lost in going to make discoveries, not being able to encounter the force and fury of the currents.

I then arose, and said, "My lord, I have but one life, and I am willing to hazard it in the service of your lordship, and for the welfare of all those who are here with us ; for I trust in God, that, in consideration of the motive which actuates me, he will give me deliverance, as he has already done on many other occasions." When the admiral heard my determination, he arose and embraced me, and, kissing me on the cheek, said, "Well did I know that there was no one here but yourself who would dare to undertake this enterprise. I trust in God, our Lord, that you will come out of it victoriously, as you have done in the others which you have undertaken."

On the following day I drew my canoe on to the shore, fixed a false keel on it, and pitched and greased it : I then nailed some boards upon the poop and prow, to prevent the sea from coming in, as it was liable to do from the lowness of the gunwales. I also fixed a mast in it, set up a sail, and laid in the necessary provisions for myself, one Spaniard, and six Indians, making eight in all, which was as many as the canoe would hold. I then bade farewell to his lordship and all the

others, and proceeded along the coast of Jamaica up to the extremity of the island, which was thirty-five leagues from the point whence we started. Even this distance was not traversed without considerable toil and danger; for on the passage I was taken prisoner by some Indian pirates, from whom God delivered me in a marvellous manner. When we had reached the end of the island, and were remaining there in the hope of the sea becoming sufficiently calm to allow us to continue our voyage across it, many of the natives collected together, with the determination of killing me, and seizing the canoe with its contents; and they cast lots for my life, to see which of them should carry their design into execution.

As soon as I became aware of their project, I betook myself secretly to my canoe, which I had left at three leagues' distance from where I then was, and set sail for the spot where the admiral was staying, and reached it after an interval of fifteen days from my departure. I related to him all that had happened, and how God had miraculously rescued me from the hands of those savages. His lordship was very joyful at my arrival, and asked me if I would recommence my voyage. I replied that I would, if I might be allowed to take some men to be with me at the extremity of the island until I should find a fair opportunity of putting to sea to prosecute my voyage. The admiral gave me seventy men, and with them, his brother the *adelantado*, to stay with me until I put to sea, and to remain there three days after my departure. With this arrangement, I returned to the extremity of the island, and remained there four days.

Finding the sea become calm, I parted from the rest of the men with much mutual sorrow. I then commended myself to God and our Lady of Antigua, and was at sea five days and four nights without laying down the oar from my hand, but continued steering the canoe while my companions rowed. It pleased God, that, at the end of five days, I reached the Island of Española at Cape San Miguel, having been two days without eating or drinking; for our provisions were exhausted. I brought my canoe up to a very beautiful part of the coast, to which many of the natives soon came, and brought with them many articles of food; so that I remained there two days to take rest. I took six Indians from this place, and, leaving those that I had brought with me, I put off to sea again, moving along the coast of Española; for it was a hundred and thirty leagues from the spot where I landed to the city of San Domingo, where the governor dwelt. . . .

When that expedition was finished, I went on foot to San Domingo, a distance of seventy leagues, and waited in expectation of the arrival of ships from Spain, it being now more than a year since any had come. In this interval, it pleased God that three ships arrived, one of which I bought, and loaded it with provisions, — bread, wine, meat, hogs, sheep, and fruit, — and despatched it to the place where the admiral was staying, in order that he might come over in it with all his people to San Domingo, and from thence sail for Spain. I myself went on in advance with the two other ships in order to give an account to the king and queen of all that had occurred in this voyage.

I think I should now do well to say somewhat of the

events which occurred to the admiral and to his family during the year that they were left on the island. A few days after my departure, the Indians became refractory, and refused to bring food, as they had hitherto done. The admiral, therefore, caused all the caciques to be summoned, and expressed to them his surprise that they should not send food as they were wont to do, knowing, as they did, and as he had already told them, that he had come there by the command of God. He said that he perceived that God was angry with them, and that he would that very night give tokens of his displeasure by signs that he would cause to appear in the heavens; and as, on that night, there was to be an almost total eclipse of the moon, he told them that God caused that appearance, to signify his anger against them for not bringing the food. The Indians, believing him, were very frightened, and promised that they would always bring him food in future; and so, in fact, they did, until the arrival of the ship which I had sent loaded with provisions. The admiral, and those who were with him, felt no small joy at the arrival of this ship. And his lordship afterwards informed me in Spain, that in no part of his life did he ever experience so joyful a day; for he had never hoped to have left that place alive. And in that same ship he set sail, and went to San Domingo, and thence to Spain.

IX. — Appeal of Columbus in his Old Age.

[To the King and Queen of Spain. Taken from his letter (1503) describing his fourth voyage.]

Such is my fate, that the twenty years of service through which I have passed with so much toil and danger have profited me nothing, and at this very day I do not possess a roof in Spain that I can call my own. If I wish to eat or sleep, I have nowhere to go but to the inn or tavern, and most times lack wherewith to pay the bill. Another anxiety wrung my very heart-strings, which was the thought of my son Diego, whom I had left an orphan in Spain, and stripped of the honor and property which were due to him on my account, although I had looked upon it as a certainty that your Majesties, as just and grateful princes, would restore it to him in all respects with increase. . . .

For seven years was I at your royal court, where every one to whom the enterprise was mentioned treated it as ridiculous ; but now there is not a man, down to the very tailors, who does not beg to be allowed to become a discoverer. There is reason to believe that they make the voyage only for plunder, and that they are permitted to do so to the great disparagement of my honor, and the detriment of the undertaking itself. It is right to give God his due, and to receive that which belongs to one's self. This is a just sentiment, and proceeds from just feelings. The lands in this part of the world, which are now under your Highnesses' sway, are richer and more extensive than those of any other Christian power ; and yet, after that I had, by the divine will, placed them under your high and royal sovereignty, and was on the

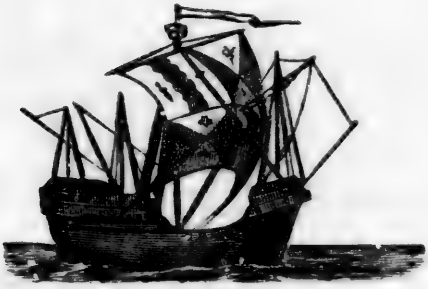
point of bringing your Majesties into the receipt of a very great and unexpected revenue; and while I was waiting for ships to convey me in safety, and with a heart full of joy, to your royal presence, victoriously to announce the news of the gold that I had discovered, I was arrested, and thrown with my two brothers, loaded with irons, into a ship, stripped, and very ill treated, without being allowed any appeal to justice. . . .

I was twenty-eight years old when I came into your Highnesses' service, and now I have not a hair upon me that is not gray: my body is infirm, and all that was left to me, as well as to my brothers, has been taken away and sold, even to the frock that I wore, to my great dishonor. I cannot but believe that this was done without your royal permission. The restitution of my honor, the reparation of my losses, and the punishment of those who have inflicted them, will redound to the honor of your royal character. A similar punishment also is due to those who have plundered me of my pearls, and who have brought a disparagement upon the privileges of my admiralty. Great and unexampled will be the glory and fame of your Highnesses, if you do this; and the memory of your Highnesses, as just and grateful sovereigns, will survive as a bright example to Spain in future ages. The honest devotedness I have always shown to your Majesties' service, and the so unmerited outrage with which it has been repaid, will not allow my soul to keep silence, however much I may wish it. I implore your Highnesses to forgive my complaints. I am indeed in as ruined a condition as I have related. Hitherto I have wept over others: may Heaven now have mercy upon me, and may the earth weep for me!

BOOK III.

CABOT AND VERRAZZANO.

(A.D. 1497–1524.)



SHIP OF THE 15TH CENTURY.

The first of these extracts in regard to the Cabots may be found in one of the Hakluyt Society's volumes, entitled "Henry Hudson the Navigator, edited by G. M. Asher," London, 1860, p. lxix.

The extracts which follow are from another volume of the same series, entitled "Hakluyt's Divers Voyages," London, 1850, pp. 23–26.

Verrazzano's narrative is taken from "Hakluyt's Divers Voyages," same edition, pp. 55–71. Another translation, by J. G. Cogswell, may be found, with the original Italian narrative, in the Collections of the New York Historical Society, second series, vol. 1.

CABOT AND VERRAZZANO.

I. — First News of John and Sebastian Cabot.

[From a letter written by Lorenzo Pasqualigo, from London, to his brothers in Venice, and dated Aug. 23, 1497.]

THIS Venetian of ours, who went with a ship from Bristol in quest of new islands, is returned, and says that seven hundred leagues hence he discovered "terra firma,"[1] which is the territory of the Grand Cham.[2] He coasted for three hundred leagues, and landed. He saw no human being whatsoever; but he has brought hither to the king certain snares which had been set to catch game, and a needle for making nets; he also found some felled trees: wherefore he supposed there were inhabitants, and returned to his ship in alarm.

He was three months on the voyage, it is quite

[1] Firm land, or continent.

[2] The name then given to the sovereign of Tartary, now called "Khan." Shakspeare, in "Much Ado about Nothing," written about 1600, says, "Fetch you a hair off the great Cham's beard."

certain ; and, coming back, he saw two islands to starboard, but would not land, time being precious, as he was short of provisions. The king is much pleased with this intelligence. He says that the tides are slack, and do not flow as they do here.

The king has promised, that, in the spring, he shall have ten ships armed according to his own fancy ; and, at his request, he has conceded to him all the prisoners, except such as are confined for high treason, to man them with. He has also given him money wherewith to amuse himself till then ; and he is now at Bristol with his wife, who is a Venetian woman, and with his sons. His name is Zuan[1] Cabot; and they call him the great admiral. Vast honor is paid him, and he dresses in silk; and these English run after him like mad people, so that he can enlist as many of them as he pleases, and a number of our own rogues besides.

The discoverer of these places planted on his newfound land a large cross, with one flag of England, and another of St. Mark, by reason of his being a Venetian ; so that our banner has floated very far afield.

II. — Sebastian Cabot's Voyage.

[The following notes, preserved in "Hakluyt's Voyages," give the earliest authentic information about Sebastian Cabot.]

A note of Sebastian Cabot's Voyage of Discovery, taken out of an old Chronicle written by Robert Fabian, sometime Alderman of London, which is in the custody

[1] John.

of John Stowe, Citizen, a diligent searcher and preserver of Antiquities.

This year[1] the King[2]—by means of a Venetian which made himself very expert and cunning in knowledge of the circuit of the world and islands of the same, as by a card and other demonstrations reasonable he showed,—caused to man and victual a ship at Bristol, to search for an island which he said he knew well was rich and replenished with rich commodities. Which ship thus manned and victualled at the King's cost, divers merchants of London ventured in her small stocks, being in her as chief patron, the said Venetian. And in the company of the said ship sailed also out of Bristol three or four small ships fraught with slight and gross merchandises, as coarse cloth, caps, laces, points, and other trifles, and so departed from Bristol in the beginning of May: of whom in this Mayor's time returned no tidings.

Of three savage men which he brought home, and presented unto the King in the seventeenth year of his reign.

This year also were brought unto the King three men taken in the new found island, that before I spake of in William Purchas' time, being Mayor. These were clothed in beast's skins, and ate raw flesh, and spake such speech that no man could understand them, and in their demeanor like to brute beasts, whom the King kept a time after. Of the which upon two years past after, I saw two apparelled after the manner of Englishmen, in Westminster Palace, which at that time I could

[1] 1498. [2] Henry VII.

not discern from Englishmen, till I was learned what they were. But as for speech, I heard none of them utter one word.

John Baptista Ramusius, in his Preface to the third volume of the Navigations, writeth thus of Sebastian Gabot:[1] —

In the latter part of this volume are put certain relations of John De Verarzana,[2] a Florentine, and of a great captain, a Frenchman, and the two voyages of Jaques Cartier, a Briton,[3] who sailed into the land set in fifty degrees of latitude to the north, which is called New France: and the which lands hitherto it is not thoroughly known whether they do join with the firm land of Florida and Nova Hispania, or whether they be separated and divided all by the Sea as Islands: and whether by that way one may go by sea into the country of Cathaio:[4] as many years past it was written unto me by Sebastian Gabot, our countryman Venetian, a man of great experience, and very rare in the art of Navigation and the knowledge of Cosmography: who sailed along and beyond this land of New France, at the charges of King Henry the seventh, King of England. And he told me that having sailed a long time West and by North beyond these islands unto the latitude of sixty-seven degrees and a half under the North Pole, and at the 11 day of June, finding still the open sea without any manner of impediment, he thought verily by that way to have passed on still the way to Cathaio, which is in the East and would have

[1] Cabot.
[2] Verrazzano.
[3] i.e., from Brittany, in France.
[4] Cathay.

done it, if the mutiny of the shipmaster and mariners had not rebelled, and made him to return homewards from that place. But it seemeth that God doth yet reserve this great enterprise for some great Prince to discover this voyage of Cathaio by this way: which for the bringing of the spiceries from India into Europe were the most easy and shortest of all other ways hitherto found out. And, surely, this enterprise would be the most glorious, and of most importance of all other, that can be imagined, to make his name great, and fame immortal, to all ages to come, far more than can be done by any of all these great troubles and wars, which daily are used in Europe among the miserable Christian people.

This much concerning Sebastian Gabot's discovery may suffice for a present cast: but shortly, God willing, shall come out in print, all his own maps and discourses, drawn and written by himself, which are in the custody of the worshipful master William Worthington, one of her Majesty's Pensioners, who — because so worthy monuments should not be buried in perpetual oblivion, — is very willing to suffer them to be overseen and published in as good order as may be, to the encouragement and benefit of our countrymen.[1]

[1] But these papers never were printed.

III. — Verrazzano's Letter to the King.

[This letter is said to have been written at Dieppe, July 8, 1524, being addressed to King Francis I. of France.

This narrative, if authentic, is the earliest original account of the Atlantic coast of the United States. Its authenticity has been doubted; and Mr. Bancroft, in the new edition of his History, does not refer to it at all. But, as the question is still unsettled, the letter is included here.]

I WROTE not to your Majesty (most Christian king), since the time we suffered the tempest in the north parts, of the success of the four ships which your Majesty sent forth to discover new lands by the ocean, thinking your Majesty had been already duly informed thereof. Now by these presents I will give your Majesty to understand how, by the violence of the winds, we were forced with the two ships, the "Norman" and the "Dolphin," in such evil case as they were, to land in Brittany. Where after we had repaired them in all points as was needful, and armed them very well, we took our course along by the coast of Spain. Afterwards, with the "Dolphin" alone, we determined to make discovery of new countries, to prosecute the navigation we had already begun; which I purpose at this present to recount unto your Majesty, to make manifest the whole proceeding of the matter. The 17th of January, the year 1524, by the grace of God we departed

VERRAZZANO.

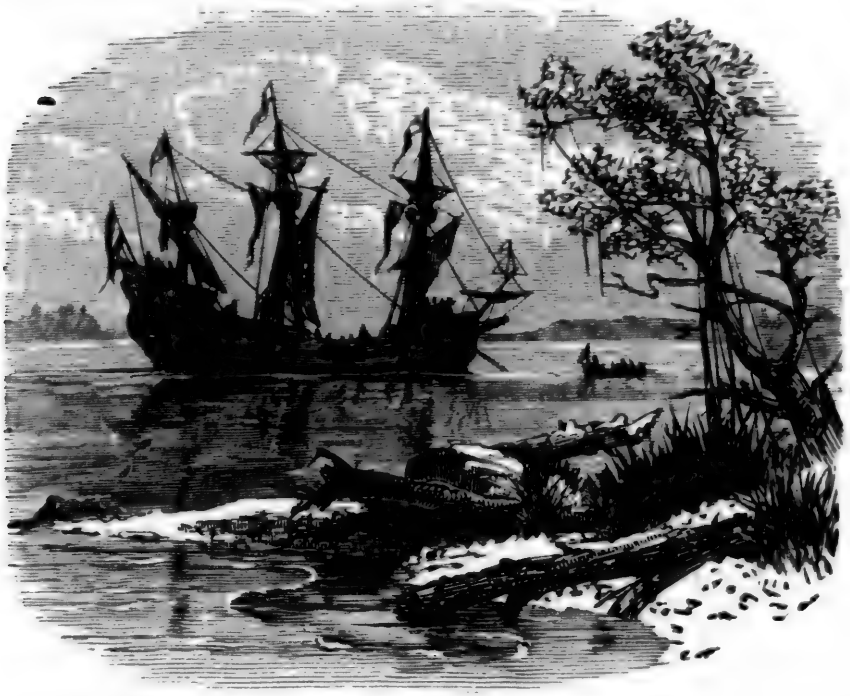
from the dishabited rock,[1] by the Isle of Madeira, appertaining to the King of Portugal, with fifty men, with victuals, weapon, and other ship munition very well provided and furnished for eight months. And, sailing westwards with a fair easterly wind, in twenty-five days we ran five hundred leagues; and the 20th of February we were overtaken with as sharp and terrible a tempest as ever any sailors suffered: whereof, with the divine help and merciful assistance of Almighty God, and the goodness of our ship, accompanied with the good hap of her fortunate name, we were delivered, and with a prosperous wind followed our course west by north. And in other twenty-five days we made about four hundred leagues more, where we discovered a new land[2] never before seen of any man, either ancient or modern. And at the first sight it seemed somewhat low; but, being within a quarter of a league of it, we perceived, by the great fires that we saw by the seacoast, that it was inhabited, and saw that the land stretched to the southwards. . . .

While we rode[3] upon that coast, partly because it had no harbor, and for that we wanted water, we sent our boat ashore with twenty-five men, where, by reason of great and continual waves that beat against the shore, being an open coast, without succor none of our men could possibly go ashore without losing our boat. We saw there many people which came unto the shore making divers signs of friendship, and showing that they were content we should come a-land; and by trial we found them to be very courteous and gentle, as

[1] One of the Dezertas. Dishabited means uninhabited.
[2] Probably the South Carolina coast. [3] At anchor.

your Majesty shall understand by the success. To the intent we might send them of our things, which the Indians commonly desire and esteem, as sheets of paper, glasses, bells, and such like trifles, we sent a young man, one of our mariners, ashore, who swimming towards them, and being within three or four yards off the shore, not trusting them, cast the things upon the shore. Seeking afterwards to return, he was with such violence of the waves beaten upon the shore, that he was so bruised that he lay there almost dead, which the Indians perceiving, ran to catch him, and, drawing him out, they carried him a little way off from the sea. The young man, perceiving they carried him, being at the first dismayed, began then greatly to fear, and cried out piteously. Likewise did the Indians, which did accompany him, going about to cheer him and give him courage; and then setting him on the ground at the foot of a little hill against the sun, began to behold him with great admiration, marvelling at the whiteness of his flesh. And, putting off his clothes, they made him warm at a great fire, not without our great fear, which remained in the boat, that they would have roasted him at that fire and have eaten him. The young man having recovered his strength, and having staid a while with them, showed them by signs that he was desirous to return to the ship. And they with great love, clapping him fast about with many embracings, accompanying him unto the sea, and, to put him in more assurance, leaving him alone, went unto a high ground, and stood there, beholding him until he was entered into the boat. This young man observed, as we did also, that these are of color inclining to black,

as the others were, with their flesh very shining, of mean stature, handsome visage, and delicate limbs, and of very little strength, but of prompt wit; farther we observed not. . . .



VERRAZZANO IN NEWPORT HARBOR.

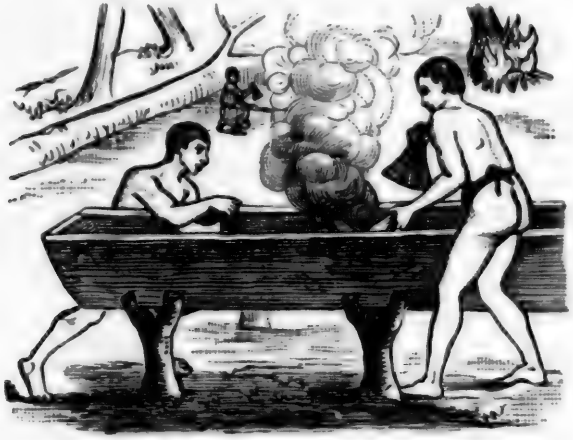
Departing from hence, following the shore, which trended somewhat toward the north, in fifty leagues' space we came to another land, which showed much more fair, and full of woods, being very great, where we rode at anchor; and, that we might have some knowledge thereof, we sent twenty men a-land,[1] which entered into the country about two leagues, and they found that the people were fled to the woods for fear. They saw only one old woman with a young maid of eighteen or

[1] To land.

twenty years old, which, seeing our company, hid themselves in the grass for fear. The old woman carried two infants on her shoulders, and behind her neck a child of eight years old. The young woman was laden likewise with as many. But, when our men came unto them, the old woman made signs that the men were fled into the woods as soon as they saw us. To quiet them, and to win their favor, our men gave them such victuals as they had with them to eat, which the old woman received thankfully; but the young woman disdained them all, and threw them disdainfully on the ground. They took a child from the old woman to bring into France; and going about to take the young woman, which was very beautiful, and of tall stature, could not possibly, for the great outcries that she made, bring her to the sea; and especially having great woods to pass through, and being far from the ship, we purposed to leave her behind, bearing away the child only. We found those folks to be more white than those that we found before, being clad with certain leaves that hang on the boughs of trees, which they sew together with threads of wild hemp. Their heads were trussed up after the same manner as the former were. Their ordinary food is of pulse,[1] whereof they have great store, differing in color and taste from ours, of good and pleasant taste. Moreover they live by fishing and fowling, which they take with gins[2] and bows made of hard wood, the arrows of canes being headed with the bones of fish and other beasts. The beasts in these parts are much wilder than in our Europe, by reason they are continually chased and hunted.

[1] Beans, or peas. [2] Traps.

We saw many of their boats, made of one tree, twenty feet long and four feet broad, which are not made of iron, or stone, or any other kind of metal, because that in all this country, for the space of two hundred leagues which we ran, we never saw one stone



INDIANS MAKING CANOES.

of any sort. They help themselves with fire, burning so much of the tree as is sufficient for the hollowness of the boat: the like they do in making the stern and forepart, until it be fit to sail upon the sea. . . .

And we came to another land,[1] being fifteen leagues distant from the island, where we found a passing good haven, wherein being entered, we found about twenty small boats of the people, which, with divers cries and wonderings, came about our ship. Coming no nearer than fifty paces towards us, they staid and beheld the artificialness of our ship, our shape, and apparel, that they all made a loud shout together, declaring that they rejoiced. When we had something animated[2] them, using their gestures, they came so near us, that we

[1] Probably Narragansett Bay. [2] i.e. somewhat encouraged.

cast them certain bells and glasses and many toys, which when they had received, they looked on them with laughing, and came without fear aboard our ship. There were amongst these people two kings of so goodly stature and shape as is possible to declare: the eldest was about forty years of age; the second was a young man of twenty years old. Their apparel was on this manner: the elder had upon his naked body a hart's[1] skin, wrought artificially with divers branches like damask. His head was bare, with the hair tied up behind with divers knots. About his neck he had a large chain garnished with divers stones of sundry colors. The young man was almost apparelled after the same manner. This is the goodliest people, and of the fairest conditions, that we have found in this our voyage. They exceed us in bigness. They are of the color of brass, some of them incline more to whiteness: others are of a yellow color, of comely visage, with long and black hair, which they are very careful to trim and deck up. . . .

There are also of them which wear on their arms very rich skins of leopards: they adorn their heads with divers ornaments made of their own hair, which hangs down before on both sides their breasts: others use other kind of dressing themselves, like unto the women of Egypt and Syria. These are of the elder sort; and, when they are married, they wear divers toys,[2] according to the usage of the people of the East, as well men as women . . .

Among whom we saw many plates of wrought copper, which they esteem more than gold, which for the

[1] Deer's. [2] Various ornaments.

color they make no account of, for that among all other it is counted the basest. They make the most account of azure and red. The things that they esteemed most of all those which we gave them were bells, crystal of azure color, and other toys to hang at their ears or about their neck. They did not desire cloth of silk or gold, much less of any other sort; neither cared they for things made of steel and iron, which we often showed them in our armor, which they made no wonder at; and, in beholding them, they only asked the art of making them. The like they did at our glasses,[1] which when they beheld, they suddenly laughed and gave them us again. . . .

And oftentimes one of the two kings coming with his queen, and many gentlemen for their pleasure, to see us, they all staid on the shore, two hundred paces from us, sending a small boat to give us intelligence of their coming, saying they would come to see our ship. This they did in token of safety; and, as soon as they had answer from us, they came immediately, and, having staid awhile to behold it, they wondered at hearing the cries and noise of the mariners. The queen and her maids staid in a very light boat, at an island a quarter of a league off, while the king abode a long space in our ship, uttering divers conceits[2] with gestures, viewing with great admiration all the furniture of the ship, demanding the property of every thing particularly. He took likewise great pleasure in beholding our apparel, and in tasting our meats, and so courteously taking his leave departed. And sometimes our men staying for two or three days on a little island

[1] Mirrors. [2] Various exclamations.

near the ship for divers necessaries, — as it is the use of seamen, — he returned with seven or eight of his gentlemen to see what we did, and asked of us ofttimes if we meant to make any long abode there, offering us of their provision ; then the king, drawing his bow, and running up and down with his gentlemen, made much sport to gratify our men. . . .

We found another land[1] high, full of thick woods, the trees whereof were firs, cypresses, and such like as are wont to grow in cold countries. The people differ much from the other, and look! how much the former seemed to be courteous and gentle, so much were these full of rudeness and ill manners, and so barbarous, that by no signs that ever we could make, we could have any kind of traffic with them. They clothe themselves with bears' skins, and leopards', and seals', and other beasts' skins. Their food, as far as we could perceive, repairing often unto their dwellings, we suppose to be by hunting and fishing, and of certain fruits, which are a kind of roots which the earth yieldeth of her own accord. They have no grain, neither saw we any kind or sign of tillage ; neither is the land, for the barrenness thereof, apt to bear fruit or seed. If, at any time, we desired by exchange to have any of their commodities, they used to come to the seashore upon certain craggy rocks, and, we standing in our boats, they let down with a rope what it pleased them to give us, crying continually that we should not approach to the land, demanding immediately the exchange, taking nothing but knives, fish-hooks, and tools to cut withal ; neither did they make any account of our courtesy. And when we had nothing

[1] Probably the coast of Maine.

left to exchange with them, when we departed from them, the people showed all signs of discourtesy and disdain as was possible for any creature to invent. We were, in despite of them, two or three leagues within the land, being in number twenty-five armed men of us. And, when we went on shore, they shot at us with their bows, making great outcries, and afterwards fled into the woods. . . .

Having now spent all our provision and victuals, and having discovered about seven hundred leagues and more of new countries, and being furnished with water and wood, we concluded to return into France.

BOOK IV.

THE STRANGE VOYAGE OF CABEZA DE VACA.

(A.D. 1528–1533.)

These extracts are taken from "The Narrative of Cabeza de Vaca, translated by Buckingham Smith," Washington, 1851, pp. 30–99. See, also, Henry Kingsley's "Tales of Old Travel."

THE STRANGE VOYAGE OF CABEZA DE VACA.

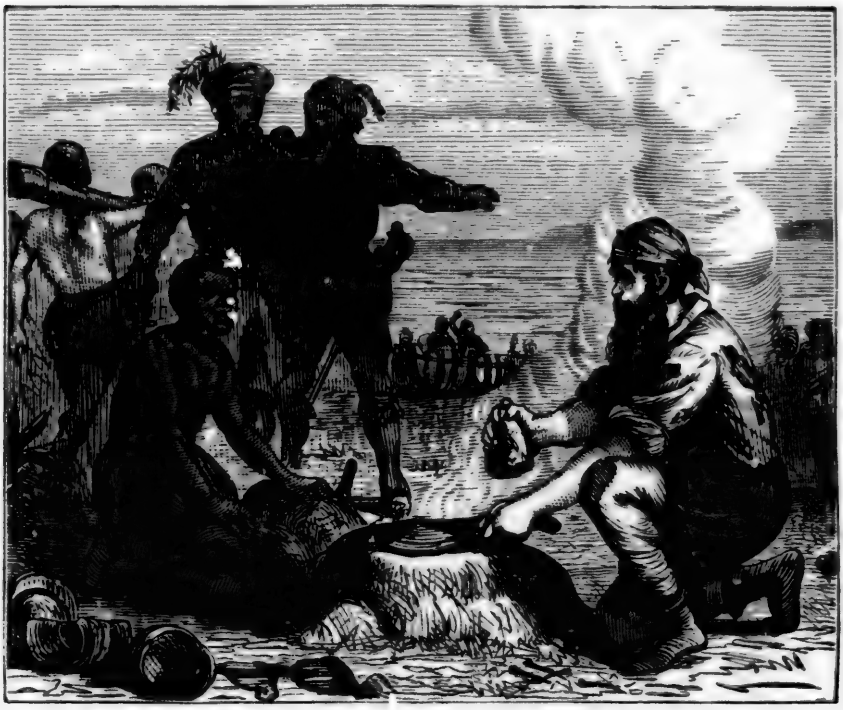
I. — The Strange Voyage.

[Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca sailed for Florida in June, 1527, as treasurer of a Spanish *armada*, or armed fleet. In Cuba they encountered a hurricane, which delayed them; but they at last reached the coast of Florida in February, 1528, probably landing at what is now called Charlotte Harbor. A portion of the party left their ships, and marched into the interior, reaching a region which they called Apalache, probably in what is now Alabama. Then they were driven back to the seashore, amid great hardships, losing one-third of their number before they reached Aute, now the Bay of St. Mark's. Near this they came to the sea; and here the narrative begins.]

IT was a piteous and painful thing to witness the perplexity and distress in which we were. At our arrival, we saw the little means there were of our advancing farther: there was not anywhere to go, and, if there had been, the people could not move forward, because the greater part of them were sick, and there were few that could be of any use. . . .

The governor called them all to him, and of each by himself he asked his advice what to do to get out of a country so miserable, and seek elsewhere that remedy

which could not here be found, a third part of the people being very sick, and the number increasing every hour; for we regarded it as certain that we should all become so, and out of it we could only pass through death; which, from its coming in such a place, was to us only the more terrible. These and many other embarrassments considered, and entertaining many plans, we



CABEZA DE VACA BUILDING THE BOAT.

coincided in one great project, extremely difficult to put in operation, and that was, to build vessels in which we might go away. This to all appeared impossible; for we knew not how to build, nor were there tools, nor iron, nor forge, nor tow, nor resin, nor rigging; finally, no one thing of so many that are necessary, nor any man who had a knowledge of their manufacture. And,

above all, there was nothing to eat the while they were making, nor any knowledge in those who would have to perform the labor. Reflecting on all this, we agreed to think of the subject with more deliberation; and the discourse dropped for that day, each going his way, commending our course to God, our Lord, that he should direct it as would best serve him.

The next day, it was His will that one of the company should come, saying that he could make some pipe out of wood, which, with deer-skins, might be made into bellows; and, as we lived in a time when any thing that had the semblance of relief appeared well, we told him to set himself to work. We assented to the making of nails, saws, axes, and other tools, of which there was such need, from the stirrups, spurs, cross-bows, and the other things of iron that there were; and we said, that, for support while the work was going on, we would make four entries into Aute, with all the horses and men that were able to go; and that every third day a horse should be killed, which should be divided among those that had labored on the work of the boats, and those that were sick. The forays were made with the people and horses that were of any use, and in them were brought back as many as four bushels of maize; but these were not got without quarrels and conflicts with the Indians. We caused to be collected many palmettos for the benefit of the woof or covering, twisting and preparing it for use in the place of tow for the boats.

We commenced to build on the 4th, with the one only carpenter in the company; and we proceeded with so great diligence, that, on the twentieth day of Sep-

tember, five boats were finished, of twenty-two cubits in length each, calked with the fibre of the palmetto. We pitched them with a certain resin, which was made from pine-trees, by a Greek named Don Theodoro ; and from the same husk of the palmettos, and from the tails and manes of the horses, we made ropes and rigging ; and from our shirts, sails ; and from the savins [1] that grew there, we made the oars that appeared to us to be requisite.

And such was the country in which our sins had cast us, that with very great trouble we could find stone for ballast and anchors to the boats, since in all of it we had not seen one. We flayed the horses, and took off the skins of their legs entire, and tanned them, to make bottles in which we might carry water.

During this time, some went gathering shell-fish in the coves and creeks of the sea, at which the Indians twice attacked them, and killed ten of our men in sight of the camp, without our being able to afford them succor. We found them traversed from side to side by the arrows ; and, although some had on good armor, it did not afford sufficient protection against the nice and powerful archery, of which I have spoken before. . . . Before we embarked, there died, without enumerating those destroyed by the Indians, more than forty men, of disease and hunger. By the 22d of the month of September, the horses had been consumed, one only remaining ; and on that day we embarked in the following order, — in the boat of the governor there went forty-nine men ; in another, which he gave to the controller and the commissary, went others as many.

[1] Cedars.

The third he gave to Capt. Alonzo del Castillo and Andres Dorantes, with forty-eight men; and another he gave to two captains, Tellez and Beñalosa, with forty-seven men. The last he gave to the assessor and me, with forty-nine men. After the provision and clothes had been taken in, there remained not over a span of the gunwales[1] above the water; and, more than this, we went so crowded, we could not move. So much can necessity do, which drove us to hazard our lives in this manner, running into a sea so turbulent, with not a single one that went there having a knowledge of navigation.

The haven we left has for its name La Baya de Cavallos.[2] We passed waist-deep in water through sounds for seven days, without seeing any point of the coast; and at the close of them we came to an island near the land. My boat went first; and from her we saw Indians coming in five canoes, which they abandoned, and left in our hands. The other boats, seeing us go towards them, passed ahead, and stopped at some houses on the island, where we found many mullet and mullet-roes dried, — a great relief to the distress in which we were. After taking these, we went on, and, two leagues thence, we discovered a strait the island makes with the land, which we named San Miguel, from having passed through it on his day.[3]

Having come out, we went to the coast, where, with

[1] The side of the vessel.

[2] The Bay of Horses, probably Choctawhatchee Bay, communicating with Pensacola Bay by Santa Rosa Inlet; but some suppose it to have been Appalachicola Bay.

[3] St. Michael's Day, Sept. 29.

the five canoes I had taken from the Indians, we somewhat improved the boats, making waist-boards, and securing them so that the sides rose two palms above the waters. With this we turned to travel along the coast in the direction of the River Palmas, every day increasing our hunger and thirst; for the provisions were very scant, and getting near their end, and the water was gone, because the bottles we made from the legs of the horses soon rotted, and were useless. Sometimes we entered coves and creeks that lay far in, and found them all shallow and dangerous. Thus we travelled thirty days among them, where we sometimes found Indian fishermen, a poor and miserable people.

At the end of this time, while the want of water was extreme, going near the coast at night, we heard the approach of a canoe; and as we saw it we waited its arrival: but it would not meet us, and, although we called, it would not return, nor wait for us. As the night was dark, we did not follow it, but kept on our way. When the sun rose, we saw a small island, and went to it, to see if we could find water: but our labor was vain; for it had none. Being there at anchor, a heavy storm overtook us, that detained us six days, without our daring to go to sea: and, as it was now five days in which we had not drunk, our thirst was so excessive, that it put us to the extremity of drinking salt water; and some of the men so greatly crazed themselves by it, that directly we had four of them to die. I state this thus briefly, because I do not believe there is any necessity for particularly relating the sufferings and toils in which we found ourselves; for considering the place we were in, and the little hope we had of relief,

every one may conceive much of what would have passed there.

Although the storm had not ceased, and we found that our thirst increased, and the water killed us, we resolved to commend ourselves to God our Lord, and venture the peril of the sea, [rather] than await the certainty of death which thirst imposed. Accordingly, we went out by the way in which we had seen the canoe the night we came there. On this day, we ourselves were many times overwhelmed by the waves, and in such jeopardy, that there was not one who did not suppose his death certain. I return thanks to our Lord, that, in the greatest dangers, he should have shown us his favor; for at sunset we doubled a point made by the sand, and found great calm and shelter.

So we sailed that day until the middle of the afternoon, when my boat, which was first, discovered a point made by the land, and, against a cape opposite, a broad river passed. I anchored by a little island which forms the point, to await the arrival of the other boats. The governor did not choose to come up, but entered a bay near by, in which were a great many islets. We came together there, and took fresh water from the sea; for the stream entered it impetuously.[1] To parch some of the corn we had brought with us, since we had eaten it raw for two days past, we went on the island; but, as we found no wood, we agreed to go to the river behind the point, which was one league off. We were unable to get there by any efforts, so violent was the current on the way, which drove us from the land while we contended, and strove to gain it. The north wind, which

[1] It is thought that this river may have been the Mississippi.

came from the shore, began to blow so strongly, that it drove us to sea without our being able to overcome it. Half a league out we sounded, and found, that, with thirty fathoms, we could not get the bottom; but we could not be satisfied that the river was not the cause of our failure to reach it.

Toiling in this manner to fetch the land, we navigated two days, and at the end of the time, a little while before the sun rose, we saw many smokes along the shore. While attempting to reach them, we found ourselves in three fathoms of water; and, it being dark, we dared not come to land; for, as we had seen so many smokes, we thought some danger might surprise us, and the obscurity leave us at a loss what to do. So we determined to wait until the morning. When it came, the boats had all lost sight of each other. I found myself in thirty fathoms; and, keeping my course until the hour of vespers, I observed two boats, and, as I drew near to them, I found that the first I approached was that of the governor, who asked me what I thought we should do. I told him we ought to join that boat which went in the advance, and by no means to leave her; and, the three being together, that we should keep on our way to where God should be pleased to direct us. He answered me, saying it could not be done, because the boat was far to sea, and he wished to reach the shore; that, if I wished to follow him, I should order the persons of my boat to take the oars, and work, as it was only by strength of arm that the land could be gained.

He was advised to this course by a captain he had with him named Pantoja, who told him, that, if he did

not fetch the land that day, in six days more they would not reach it; and in that time they must inevitably famish. I, seeing his will, took my oar; and the same did all who were in my boat, to obey it. We rowed until near sunset; but, as the governor carried in his boat the healthiest men there were among the whole, we could not by any means hold with or follow her. Seeing this, I asked him to give me a rope from his boat, that I might be enabled to keep up with him; but he answered me that he would do no little,[1] if they, as they were, should be able to reach the land that night. I said to him, that, since he saw the little strength we had to follow him and do what he had commanded, he should tell me what he would that I should do. He answered me, that it was no longer a time in which one should command another, but that each should do what he thought best to save his own life; that he so intended to act; and, saying this, he departed with his boat. As I could not follow him, I steered to the other boat at sea, which waited for me; and, having come up with her, I found her to be the one commanded by the captains Beñalosa and Tellez.

Thus we continued in company, eating a daily ration of half a handful of raw maize, until the end of four days, when we lost sight of each other in a storm; and such was the weather, that it was only by divine favor that we did not all go down. Because of the winter and its inclemency, the many days we had suffered hunger, and the heavy beating of the waves, the people began the next day to despair in such a manner, that, when the sun went down, all who were in my boat were

[1] i.e., that it would be as much as he could do.

fallen one on another, so near to death, that there were few among them in a state of sensibility. Among them all at this time there were not five men on their feet; and, when the night came, there were left only the master and myself who could work the boat. At the second hour of the night, he said to me that I must take charge of her, for that he was in such condition he believed that night he should die. So I took the paddle; and after midnight I went to see if the master was alive, and he said to me that he was better, and that he would take the charge until day. I declare that in that hour I would have more willingly died than seen so many people before me in such condition. After the master took the direction of the boat, I lay down a little while, but without repose; for nothing at that time was farther from me than sleep.

Near the dawn of day, it seemed to me that I heard the tumbling of the sea; for, as the coast was low, it roared loudly. Surprised at this, I called to the master, who answered me that he believed we were near the land. We sounded, and found ouselves in seven fathoms. He thought we should keep the sea until sunrise; and accordingly I took an oar, and pulled on the side of the land until we were a league distant; and we then gave her stern to the sea. Near the shore, a wave took us that knocked the boat out of the water to the distance of the throw of a crowbar; and by the violence of the blow nearly all of the people who were in her like dead were roused to consciousness. Finding themselves near the shore, they began to move on hands and feet, and crawled to land in some ravines. There we made fire, parching some of the maize we

brought with us, and where we found rain-water. From the warmth of the fire the people recovered their faculties, and began somewhat to exert themselves.[1] The day on which we arrived here was the 6th of November.

II. — Cabeza de Vaca saved by Indians.

After the people had eaten, I ordered Lope de Oviedo, who had more strength, and was stouter, than any of the rest, to go to some trees that were near, and, having climbed into one of them, to survey the country in which we were, and endeavor to get some knowledge of it. He did as I bade him, and made out that we were on an island. He saw that the ground was pawed up in the manner that the land is wont to be where cattle range; and hence it appeared to him that this should be the country of Christians, and thus he reported to us. I ordered him to return to examine much more particularly, and see if there were any roads in it that were worn, and without going far, because of the danger there might be. He went, and, coming to a path, he took it for the distance of half a league, and found some huts without any tenants, for the Indians

[1] This strange incident of the revival of the men who seemed to have died may possibly have suggested to the poet Coleridge that passage in his "Ancient Mariner" where the dead sailors rise up again: —

> "They groaned, they stirred, they all uprose,
> Nor spake, nor moved their eyes:
> It had been strange, even in a dream,
> To see those dead men rise."

had gone into the woods. He took from them an earthen pot, a little dog, some few mullets, and thus returned. It appearing to us that he was long absent, we sent two others, that they should look and see what might have befallen him.

They met him near by, and saw that three Indians with bows and arrows followed, and were calling to him; and he, in the same way, was beckoning them on. Thus they arrived where we were; the Indians remaining a little way back, seated on the same bank. Half an hour after, they were supported by fifty other Indian bowmen, whom, whether large or not, our fears made giants. They stopped near us with the three first. It were idle to think that there were any among us who could make defence; for it would have been difficult to find six that could raise themselves from the ground. The assessor and I went and called them, and they came to us. We endeavored the best we could to recommend ourselves to their favor, and secure their good-will. We gave them beads and hawk-bells; and each one of them gave me an arrow, which is a pledge of friendship. They told us by signs that they would return in the morning, and bring us something to eat, as at that time they had nothing.

The next day at sunrise, the time the Indians had appointed, they came as they had promised, and brought us a large quantity of fish, and certain roots that are eaten by them, of the size of walnuts, some a little larger, others a little smaller, the greater part of them got from under the water, and with much labor. In the evening they returned, and brought us more fish, and some of the roots. They sent their women and

hildren to look at us, who returned rich with the hawk-bells and beads that we gave them; and they came afterward on other days in the same way. As we found that we had been provisioned with fish, roots, water, and other things for which we asked, we determined to embark again, and pursue our course. We dug out our boat from the sand in which it was buried; and it became necessary that we should all strip ourselves, and go through great exertion to launch her, for we were in such state, that things very much lighter sufficed to make us much labor.

Thus embarked, at the distance of two cross-bow shots in the sea we shipped a wave that wet us all. As we were naked, and the cold was very great, the oars loosened in our hands; and the next blow the sea struck us capsized the boat. The assessor and two others held fast to her for preservation; but it happened to be for far otherwise, as the boat carried them over, and they drowned under her. As the surf near the shore was very high, a single roll of the sea threw the remainder into the waves, and half drowned us on the shore of the island, without our losing any more than the boat had taken under. Those of us who survived escaped naked as we were born, losing all that we had; and, although the whole was of little value, at that time it was worth much.

As it was then in the month of November, the cold severe, and our bodies so emaciated that the bones might have been counted with little difficulty, we had become perfect figures of death. For myself, I can say, that, from the month of May past, I had not eaten other thing than maize, and sometimes I found myself obliged

to eat it unparched; for, although the horses were slaughtered while the boats were being built, I never could eat of them, and I did not eat fish ten times. I state this to avoid giving excuses, and that every one may judge in what condition we were. After all these misfortunes, there came a north wind upon us, from which we were nearer to death than life. Thanks be to our Lord, that, looking among the brands that we had used there, we found sparks from which we made great fires. And thus we were asking mercy of him, and pardon for our transgressions, shedding many tears, and each regretting, not his own fate alone, but that of his comrades about him.

At sunset, the Indians, thinking that we had not gone, came to seek us, and bring us food; but when they saw us thus, in a plight so different from what it was formerly, and so extraordinary, they were alarmed, and turned back. I went toward them, and called to them; and they returned much frightened. I gave them to understand by signs how that our boat had sunk, and three of our number been drowned. There, before them, they saw two of the departed; and those that remained were near joining them. The Indians, at sight of the disaster that had befallen us, and our state of suffering and melancholy destitution, sat down amongst us; and from the sorrow and pity they felt for us, they all began to lament, and so earnestly, that they might have been heard at a distance; and they continued so doing more than half an hour. It was strange to see these men, so wild and untaught, howling like brutes over our misfortunes. It caused in me, as in others, an increase of feeling, and a livelier sense of our calamity.

Their cries having ceased, I talked with the Christians, and said, that, if it appeared well to them, I would beg these Indians to take us to their houses. Some who had been in New Spain said that we ought not to think of it; for, if we should do so, they would sacrifice us to their idols. But seeing no better course, and that any other led to nearer and more certain death, I disregarded what was said, and besought the Indians to take us to their dwellings. They signified that it would give them great delight, and that we should tarry a little, that we might do what we asked. Presently, thirty of them loaded themselves with wood, and started for their houses, which were far off, and we remained with the others until near night, when, holding us up, they carried us with all haste. Because of the extreme coldness of the weather, lest any one should die or fail by the way, they caused four or five large fires to be placed at intervals; and at each one of them they warmed us, and, when they saw that we had regained some strength and warmth, they took us to the next so swiftly that they hardly permitted us to put our feet to the ground. In this manner, we went as far as their habitations, where we found that they had made a house for us with many fires in it. An hour after our arrival, they began to dance, and hold great rejoicing, which lasted all night, although for us there was no joy, appetite, or sleep, awaiting the time they should make us victims. In the morning, they again gave us fish and roots, and showed us such hospitality, that we were re-assured, and lost somewhat the fear of the sacrifice.[1]

[1] i.e., of being offered as a sacrifice.

III. — Cabeza de Vaca's Captivity.

[The eighty men taken by the Indians were soon reduced by death to fifteen. These were made slaves, and were severely treated.]

I was obliged to remain with the people of the island more than a year; and because of the hard work they put upon me, and their harsh treatment, I determined to flee from them, and go to those of Charruco, who inhabit the forests and country of the main; for the life I led was insupportable. Beside much other labor, I had to get out roots from below the water, and from among the cane where it grew in the ground. From this employment I had my fingers so worn, that, did a straw but touch them, it would draw blood. Many of the canes were broken, so that they often tore my flesh; and I had to go in the midst of them with only the clothing on me I have mentioned.

Accordingly, I put myself to work to get over to the other Indians; and afterward, while I was with them, affairs changed for me somewhat more favorably. I set myself to trafficking, and strove to turn my employment to profit in the ways I could best contrive; and by this means I got from the Indians food and good treatment. They would beg me to go from one part to another for things of which they have need; for, in consequence of continual hostilities, they cannot travel the country, nor make many exchanges. With my merchandise and trade I went into the interior as far as I pleased; and I travelled along the coast forty or fifty leagues. The chief of my wares was pieces of sea-snails and their

cones, conches, that are used for cutting,[1] and a fruit like a bean, of the highest value among them, which they use as a medicine, and employ in their dances and festivities. There are sea-beads also, and other articles. Such were what I carried into the interior; and, in barter for them, I brought back skins, ochre, with which they rub and color their faces, and flint for arrow-points, cement and hard canes, of which to make arrows, and tassels that are made of the hair of deer, ornamented, and dyed red.

This occupation suited me well; for the travel gave me liberty to go where I wished. I was not obliged to work, and was not a slave. Wherever I went, I received fair treatment; and the Indians gave me to eat for the sake of my commodities. My leading object, while journeying in this business, was to find out the way by which I should have to go forward; and I became well known to the inhabitants. They were pleased when they saw me, and I had brought for them what they wanted; and those that did not know me sought and desired my acquaintance for my reputation. The hardships that I underwent in this it were long to tell, as well of peril and privation, as of storms and cold. Many of them found me in the wilderness and alone; but I came forth from them all, by the great mercy of God our Lord. Because of them, I ceased to pursue the business in winter; for it is a season in which the natives themselves retire to their villages and huts, sluggish, and incapable of exertion.

I was in this country nearly six years,[2] alone among

[1] The sea-snails and conches (or conchs) were shells of various species.

[2] From 1528 to 1533.

the Indians, and naked like them. The reason why I remained so long was, that I might take with me from the island the Christian Lope de Oviedo. De Alaniz, his companion, who had been left with him by Alonzo del Castillo, Andres Dorantes, and the rest, died soon after their departure; and, to get the survivor out from there, I went over to the island every year, and entreated him that we should go, in the way we could best contrive, in quest of Christians. He put me off every year, saying that in the next coming we would go. At last I got him off, crossing him over the bay, and over four rivers there are in the co[illegible] as he could not swim. In this way we went on with some Indians, until coming to a bay a league in width, and everywhere deep. From its appearance, we supposed it to be that which they call Espiritu Santo.

We met some Indians on the other side of it, who came to visit ours; and they told us that beyond them there were three men like us, and gave their names. And we asked them for the others; and they told us that they were all dead of cold and hunger; that the Indians farther on, of whom they were, had for their diversion killed Diego Dorantes, Valdevieso, and Diego de Huelva, because they left one house for another; and that other Indians, their neighbors, with whom Captain Dorantes now was, had, in consequence of a dream, killed Esquivel and Mendez. We asked them how the living were situated; and they answered us that they were very ill used; for that the boys and some of the Indian men were very idle, and of cruelty gave them severe kicks, cuffs, and blows with sticks, and that such was the life they led among them.

We desired to be informed of the country ahead, and of the subsistence in it ; and they said there was nothing in it to eat, and [it] was thin of people, who suffered of cold, having no skins or other thing to cover them. They told us, also, if we wished to see those three Christians, two days from that time the Indians who had them would come to eat walnuts a league from there, on the margin of that river ; and, that we might know what they had told us of the ill usage to be true, they slapped my companion, and beat him with a stick, and I was not left without my portion. They frequently threw fragments of mud at us ; and every day they put their arrows to our hearts, saying that they were inclined to kill us in the way they had destroyed our friends. Lope Oviedo, my comrade, in fear, said that he wished to go back with the women who had crossed the bay with us, the men having remained some distance behind. I contended strongly with him against his returning, and I urged many objections ; but in no way could I keep him. So he went back, and I remained alone with those savages.

IV. — The Indians of the Gulf of Mexico.

These are the most watchful in danger of any people I have ever seen. If they fear an enemy, they are awake the night long, with each a bow by his side, and a dozen arrows. He that sleeps tries his bow : and, if it is not strung, he gives the turn necessary to the cord. They often come out from their houses, bending to the ground in such manner, that they cannot be seen, and

look and watch on all sides to catch every object. If they perceive any thing about, they are all in the bushes with their bows and arrows, and there they remain until day, running from place to place where it is useful to be, or where they think their enemies are. When the light has come, they unbend their bows until they go out to hunt. The strings are of the sinews of deer.

The method they have of fighting is lying low to the earth; and, whilst they shoot, they move about, speaking, and leaping from one point to another, screening themselves from the shafts of their enemies. So effectual is this manœuvring, that they can receive very little injury from cross-bow or arquebuse;[1] but they rather scoff at them: for these arms are of little value employed in open field, where the Indians go loosely. They are proper for defiles, and in water: everywhere else the horses will be found the most effective, and are what the natives universally fear. Whosoever would fight against them must be cautious to show no weakness or desire for any thing that is theirs; and, whilst war exists, they must be treated with the utmost severity; for, if they discover any timidity or covetousness, they are a race that well discern the opportunities for vengeance, and gather strength from the fear of their adversaries. When they use arrows in battle, and exhaust their store, each returns by his own way without the one party following the other, although the one be many and the other few; for such is their custom. Oftentimes their bodies are traversed from side to side by arrows; and they do not die of the wounds, but

[1] A small matchlock gun.

soon become well, unless the entrails or the heart be struck.

I believe they see and hear better, and have keener senses, than any people there are in the world. They are great in the endurance of hunger, thirst, and cold, as if they were made for these more than others by habit and nature. Thus much I have wished to say beyond the gratification of that desire which men have to learn the customs and manners of each other, that those who hereafter at some time find themselves amongst these people may be intelligent in their usages and artifice, the value of which they will not find inconsiderable in such event.

V. — Cabeza de Vaca's Escape.

[After getting away from his first captors, he came among Indians who thought that he and his comrades must have come from heaven, because of their superior knowledge. He thus describes them.]

We left these, and travelled through so many sorts of people, of such diverse languages, that the memory fails to recall them. They ever plundered each other; and those that lost, like those that gained, were fully content. We drew so many followers after us, that we had not use for their services. While on our way through these vales, each of the Indians carried a club three palms in length, and kept himself on the alert. On raising a hare, which are abundant, they surround it directly; and numerous clubs are thrown at it, and with a precision astonishing to see. In this way they cause it to run from one to another; so that, accord-

ing to my thinking, it is the most pleasing sport that can be conceived of, as oftentimes the animal runs into the hand. So many of them did they give us, that at night, when we stopped, each one of us had eight or ten back-loads. Those who had bows were not with us, but dispersed about the ridge in quest of deer; and, when they came at night, they brought five or six for each of us, besides birds, the quail, and other game. Indeed, all that they found or killed they put before us, without themselves daring to take any thing until we had blessed it, though they should be dying of hunger; for they had so established the custom since marching with us.

The women carried many mats, of which the men made us houses, each of us having a separate one with all his attendants. After these were put up, we ordered the deer and hares to be roasted, with the rest that had been taken. This was soon done by means of certain ovens made for the purpose. We took a little of each; and the remainder we gave to the principal personages that came with us, directing them to divide them among the rest. Every one brought his portion to us, that we should give it our benediction; for not until then dared they to eat of it. Frequently we were accompanied by three or four thousand persons; and as we had to breathe upon and sanctify the food and drink for each, and give them permission to do the many things they would come to ask, it may be seen how great to us were the trouble and annoyance. The women first brought us the pears, spiders, worms, and whatever else they could gather; for, even if they were famishing, they would eat nothing unless we gave it to them.

In company with these we crossed a great river coming from the north; and, passing over some plains thirty leagues in extent, we found many persons who came from a great distance to receive us; and they met us on the road over which we had to travel, and received us in the manner of those we had left. . . .

We told them to conduct us toward the north; and they answered us as they had done before, saying, that, in that direction, there were no people, except afar off; that there was nothing to eat, nor could water be found. Nowithstanding all this, we persisted, and said that in that course we desired to go; and they still tried to excuse themselves in the best manner possible. At this we became offended: and one night I went out to sleep in the woods, apart from them; but they directly went to where I was, and remained there all night without sleeping, and in great fear, talking to me, and telling me how terrified they were, beseeching us to be no longer angry, and that though they knew they should die on the way, they would nevertheless lead us in the direction we desired to go.

Whilst we still feigned to be displeased, that their fright might not leave them, there happened a remarkable circumstance, which was, that on this same day many of them became ill, and the next day eight men died. Abroad in the country wheresoever this became known, there was such dread, that it seemed as if the inhabitants at sight of us would die of fear. They besought us that we would not remain angered, nor require that many of them should die. They believed that we caused their death by only willing it; when in truth it gave us so much pain that it could not be

greater; for, beyond the loss of them that died, we feared they might all die, or abandon us out of fear, and all other people thenceforward should do the same, seeing what had come to these. We prayed to God our Lord, that he would relieve them; and thenceforth all those that were sick began to get better. . . .

From that place onward there was another usage, that those who knew of our approach did not come out to receive us on the roads, as the others had done, but we found them in their houses, and others they had made for our reception. They were all seated with their faces turned to the wall, their heads down, and the hair brought before their eyes, and their property placed in a heap in the middle of their houses. From this place forward they began to give us many blankets of skin, and they had nothing that they did not give to us. They have the finest persons of any that we saw, and of the greatest activity and strength, and [were those] who best understood us, and intelligently answered our inquiries. We called them *los de las vacas*, the cow nation, because most of the cattle that are killed are destroyed in their neighborhood; and along up that river over fifty leagues they kill great numbers.

[Cabeza de Vaca crossed the Mississippi, or passed its mouth, many years before De Soto reached it. Having finally arrived at the city of Mexico, he was sent home to Europe, and reached Lisbon Aug. 15, 1537. His later adventures will be found in Southey's Hist. of Brazil, chap. v.]

BOOK V.

THE FRENCH IN CANADA.

(A.D. 1534–1536.)

THE extracts from Cartier's narratives are taken from an old translation, to be found in Hakluyt's "Voyages" (edition of 1810), vol. 3, pp. 250, 257, 259, 266–269, 271–274.

A most interesting description of Cartier's adventures, including those here described, may be found in Parkman's "Pioneers of France in the New World," p. 81. Another account of the same events, illustrated by the maps of the period, will also be found in Kohl's valuable "History of the Discovery of the East Coast of North America" (Maine Historical Society, 2d series, vol. 1), p. 320.

THE FRENCH IN CANADA.

I. — Cartier's Visit to Bay of Chaleur.

[Jacques Cartier was born in 1494, at St. Malo, a principal port of Brittany, France. He was bred to the sea; and, having made fishing-voyages to the Grand Banks of Labrador, he desired to make an exploration farther west. For this purpose an expedition was fitted out by King Francis I. of France, as is described below.]

THE first relation[1] of Jacques Cartier of St. Malo, of the new land called New France,[2] newly discovered in the year of our Lord 1534. . . .

After that, Sir Charles of Mouy, Knight, Lord of Meilleraie, and Vice-Admiral of France, had caused the captains, masters, and mariners of the ships to be sworn to behave themselves faithfully in the service of the most Christian King of France. Under the charge of the said Cartier, we departed from the Port of St.

[1] Description.

[2] In the map of Ortelius, published in 1572, the name of New France is applied to the whole of both North and South America. "The application of this name dates back to a period immediately after the voyage of Verrazzano; and the Dutch voyagers are especially free in their use of it, out of spite to the Spaniards." — Parkman.

Malo with two ships of threescore tons' apiece burden, and sixty-one well-appointed men in each one. . . .

[Cartier sailed first to Newfoundland, and then made further discoveries.]

Upon Thursday, being the 8th of the month,[1] because the wind was not good to go out with our ships, we set our boats in a readiness to go and discover the said bay; and that day we went twenty-five leagues within it. The next day, the wind and weather being fair, we sailed until noon, in which time we had notice of a great part of said bay, and how that over the low lands, there were other lands with high mountains: but, seeing that there was no passage at all, we began to turn back again, taking our way along the coast; and, sailing, we saw certain wild men that stood upon the shore of a lake, that is among the low grounds, who were making fires and smoke. We went thither, and found that there was a channel of the sea that did enter into the lake; and, setting our boats at one of the banks of the channel, the wild men with one of their boats came unto us, and brought up pieces of seals ready sodden,[2] putting them upon pieces of wood; then retiring themselves, they would make signs unto

JACQUES CARTIER.

[1] July. [2] Boiled.

us that they did give them us. We sent two men unto them with hatchets, knives, beads, and other such like ware, whereat they were very glad; and by and by in clusters they came to the shore where we were, with their boats, bringing with them skins and other such things as they had, to have of our wares.

They were more than three hundred men, women, and children. Some of the women which came not over we might see stand up to the knees in water, singing and dancing. The other that had passed the river where we were came very friendly to us, rubbing our arms with their own hands; then would they lift them up towards heaven, showing many signs of gladness. And in such wise were we assured one of another, that we very familiarly began to traffic for whatsoever they had, till they had nothing but their naked bodies, for they gave us all whatsoever they had; and that was but of small value. We perceived that this people might very easily be converted to our religion. They go from place to place. They live only with fishing. They have an ordinary[1] time to fish for their provision. The country is hotter than the country of Spain, and the fairest that can possibly be found, altogether smooth and level. There is no place, be it never so little, but it hath some trees, yea, albeit it be sandy; or else is full of wild corn, that hath an ear like unto rye. The corn is like oats, and small peas as thick as if they had been sown and ploughed, white and red gooseberries, strawberries, blackberries, white and red roses, with many other flowers of very sweet and pleasant smell. There be also many goodly meadows full of

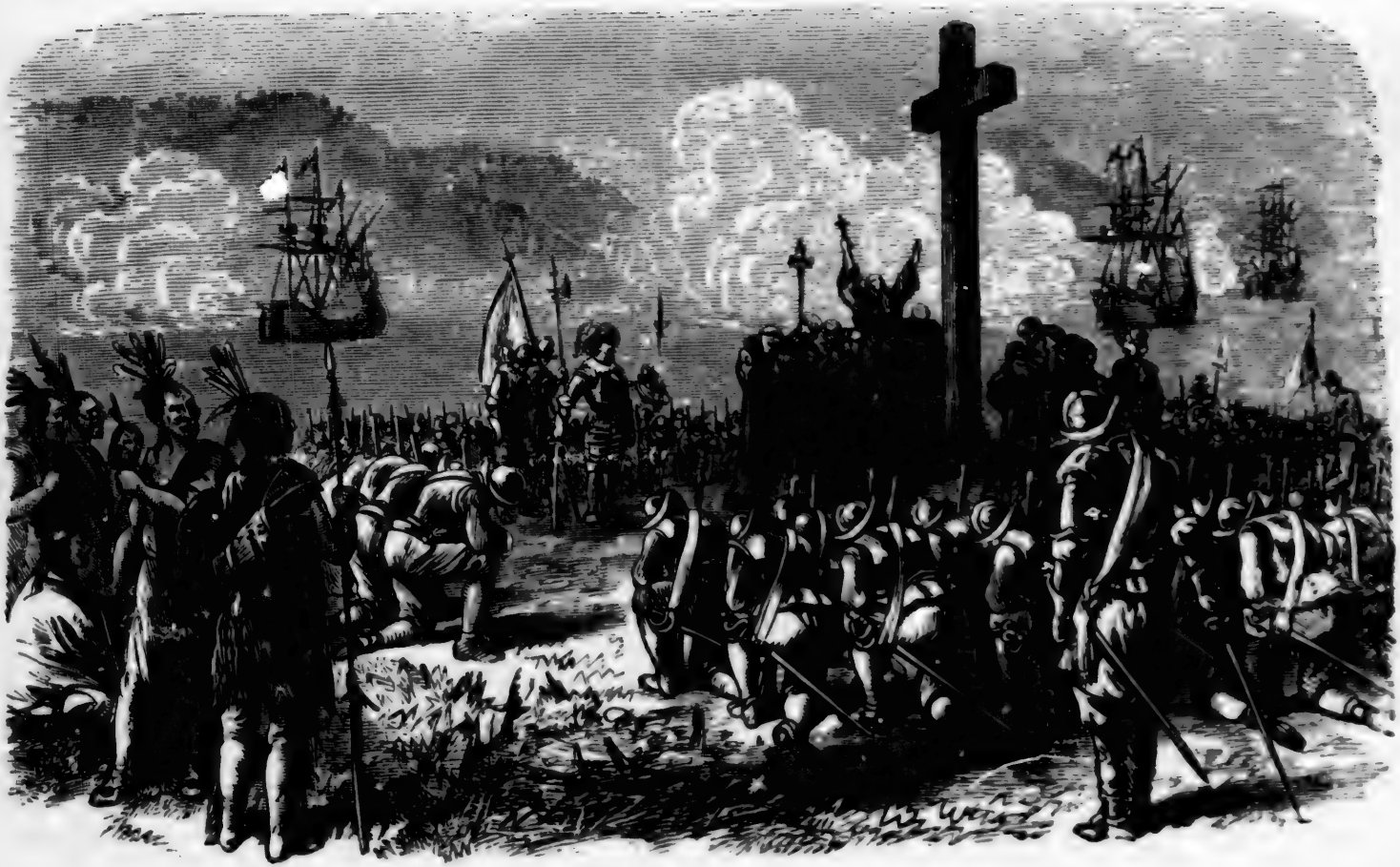
[1] Regular.

grass, and lakes wherein great plenty of salmons be. They call a hatchet in their tongue, *cochi;* and a knife *bacon:* we named it the bay of heat.[1]

II. — Cartier sets up a Cross.

Upon the 24th of the month,[2] we caused a fair high cross to be made of the height of thirty feet, which was made in the presence of many of them, upon the point of the entrance of the said haven,[3] in the midst whereof we hanged up a shield with three fleur-de-lis[4] in it; and in the top was carved in the wood with antique letters this posy,[5] *Vive le Roi de France.* Then before them all we set it upon the said point. They with great heed[6] beheld both the making and setting of it up. So soon as it was up, we all together kneeled down before them, with our hands toward heaven, yielding God thanks; and we made signs unto them, showing them the heavens, and that all our salvation dependeth only on Him which in them dwelleth: whereat they showed a great admiration, looking first one at another, and then upon the cross. And, after we were returned to our ships, their captain, clad with an old bear's-skin, with three of his sons and a brother of his with him, came unto us in one of their boats; but they came not so near us as they were wont to do. There he made a long oration unto us, showing us the cross we had set up, and making a cross with his two fingers. Then did he show us all the country

1 *Chaleur*, signifying heat in French. 2 July, 1534.
3 Gaspé Bay. 4 The arms of France. 5 Motto. 6 Attention.



CARTIER RAISING A CROSS ON THE ST. CHARLES RIVER.

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about us, as if he would say that all was his, and that we should not set up any cross without his leave.

His talk being ended, we showed him an axe, feigning that we would give it him for his skin, to which he listened, for by little and little he came near our ships. One of our fellows that was in our boat took hold on theirs, and suddenly leaped into it, with two or three more, who enforced them to enter into our ships, whereat they were greatly astonished. But our captain did straightway assure them that they should have no harm, nor any injury offered them at all, and entertained them very friendly, making them eat and drink. Then did we show them with signs, that the cross was only set up to be as a light and leader which ways to enter into the port,[1] and that we would shortly come again, and bring good store of iron-wares and other things; but that we would take two of his children with us, and afterward bring them to the said port again. And so we clothed two of them in shirts and colored coats, with red caps, and put about every one's neck a copper chain, whereat they were greatly contented. Then gave they their old clothes to the fellows that went back again; and we gave to each one of those three that went back, a hatchet and some knives, which made them very glad. After these were gone, and had told the news unto their fellows, in the afternoon there came to our ships six boats of them, with five or six men in every one, to take their farewells of those two we had detained to take with us, and brought them

[1] The object of the cross was to take possession of the country for the King of France; but Cartier did not hesitate to deceive the natives by saying that it was only for a beacon.

some fish, uttering many words which we did not understand, making signs that they would not remove the cross we had set up.

III. — Cartier ascends the St. Lawrence as far as Quebec.

[This took place on Cartier's second voyage. He sailed from St. Malo, May 19, 1535, and reached the mouth of the St. Lawrence, which he ascended, hoping to find a passage to the west.]

Our captain then caused our boats to be set in order, that with the next tide he might go up higher into the river to find some safe harbor for our ships; and we passed up the river, against the stream, about ten leagues, coasting the said island, at the end whereof we found a goodly and pleasant sound, where is a little river and haven, where, by reason of the flood, there is about three fathoms water. This place seemed very fit and commodious to harbor our ships therein; and so we did very safely. We named it the Holy Cross;[1] for on that day we came thither. Near unto it there is a village, whereof Donnacona is lord; and there he keepeth his abode: it is called Stadacona,[2] as goodly a plot of ground as possibly may be seen, and therewithal very fruitful, full of goodly trees even as in France, as oaks, elms, ashes, walnut trees, maple-trees, citrons, vines, and white-thorns, that bring forth fruit as big as any damsons, and many other sorts of trees,

[1] The St. Croix River, now called St. Charles. The first name was given because Cartier reached it on the festival of the Holy Cross.

[2] Now Quebec.

under which groweth as fair tall hemp as any in France, without any seed, or any man's work or labor at all. Having considered the place, and finding it fit for our purpose, our captain withdrew himself on purpose to return to our ships. But behold! as we were coming out of the river, we met coming against us one of the lords of said village of Stadacona, accompanied with many others, as men, women, and children, who, after the fashion of their country, in sign of mirth and joy, began to make a long oration, the women still singing and dancing, up to the knees in water. Our captain, knowing their good-will and kindness toward us, caused the boat wherein they were to come unto him, and gave them certain trifles, as knives, and beads of glass, whereat they were marvellous glad; for being gone about three leagues from them, for the pleasure they conceived of our coming, we might hear them sing, and see them dance, for all they were so far. . . .

The next day, we departed with our ships, to bring them to the place of the Holy Cross; and on the 14th of that month[1] we came thither; and the Lord Donnacona, Taignoagny, and Domagaia,[2] with twenty-five boats full of those people, came to meet us, coming from the place whence we were come, and going toward Stadacona, where their abiding is. And all came to our ships, showing sundry and divers gestures of gladness and mirth, except those two that we had brought; to wit, Taignoagny and Domagaia,[2] who seemed to have altered and changed their mind and purpose;

[1] September.

[2] These were the two young Indians whom Cartier had carried off with him the year before.

for by no means they would come unto our ships, albeit sundry times they were earnestly desired to do it, whereupon we began to distrust somewhat. Our captain asked them, if, according to promise, they would go with him to Hochelaga.[1] They answered yea, for so they had purposed; and then each one withdrew himself. The next day, being the 15th of the month, our captain went on shore, to cause certain poles and piles to be driven into the water, and set up, that the better and safelier we might harbor our vessels there. . . .

The day following, we brought our two great ships within the river and harbor, where the waters, being at the highest, are three fathoms deep, and, at the lowest, but half a fathom. We left our pinnace[2] without the road, to the end we might bring it to Hochelaga. So soon as we had safely placed our ships, behold! we saw Donnacona, Taignoagny, and Domagaia, with more than five hundred persons, men, women, and children; and the said lord, with ten or twelve of the chiefest of the country, came aboard of our ships, who were all courteously received, and friendly entertained both of our captain and of us all; and divers gifts of small value were given them.

Then did Taignoagny tell our captain that his lord did greatly sorrow that he would go to Hochelaga, and that he would not by any means permit that any of them should go with him, because the river was of no importance. Our captain answered him, that, for all his saying, he would not leave off his going thither, if, by any means, it were possible; for that he was commanded by his king to go as far as possibly he could;

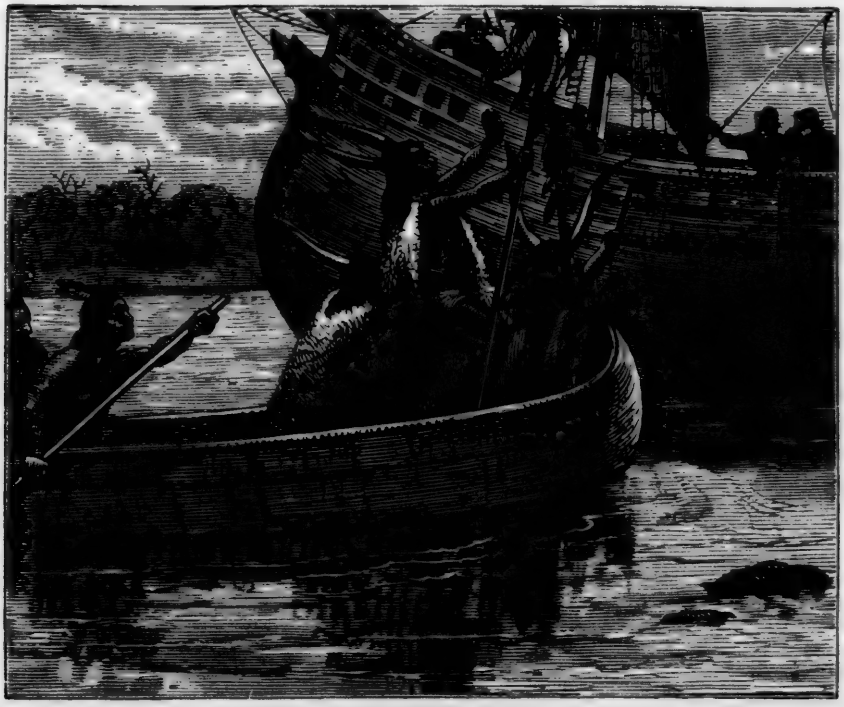
[1] This village was where Montreal now stands. [2] A small vessel.

and that if he — that is to say, Taignoagny — would go with him, as he had promised, he should be very well entertained: beside that, he should have such a gift given him as he should well content himself; for he should do nothing else but go with him to Hochelaga, and come again. To whom Taignoagny answered, that he would not by any means go; and thereupon they suddenly returned to their houses. The next day, being the 17th of September, Donnacona and his company returned even as at the first. . . .

After that, our captain caused the said children to be put in our ships, and caused two swords and copper basins — the one wrought, the other plain — to be brought unto him; and them he gave to Donnacona, who was therewith greatly contented, yielding most hearty thanks unto our captain for them. And presently, upon that, he commanded all his people to sing and dance, and desired our captain to cause a piece of artillery to be shot off, because Taignoagny and Domagaia made great brags of it, and had told them marvellous things, and also, because they had never heard nor seen any before. To whom our captain answered that he was content. And by and by he commanded his men to shoot off twelve cannons charged with bullets into the wood that was hard by those people and ships, at whose noise they were greatly astonished and amazed; for they thought that heaven had fallen upon them, and put themselves to flight, howling and crying and shrieking; so that it seemed hell was broken loose.

IV. — How the Indians tried to frighten Cartier.

The next day, being the 18th of September, these men still endeavored themselves to seek all means possible to hinder and let our going to Hochelaga, and devised a pretty guile,[1] as hereafter shall be showed.



INDIANS TRYING TO FRIGHTEN CARTIER.

They went and dressed three men like devils, wrapped in dogs' skins, white and black, their faces besmeared as black as any coals, with horns on their heads more than a yard long, and caused them secretly to be put in one of their boats, but came not near our ships, as

[1] An ingenious trick.

they were wont to do. For they lay hidden within the wood for the space of two hours, looking for the tide, to the end the boat wherein the devils were might approach and come near us, which, when [the] time was, came, and all the rest issued out of the wood coming to us, but yet not so near as they were wont to do. Then began Taignoagny to salute our captain, who asked him if he would have the boat to come for him. He answered, not for that time, but after a while he would come unto our ships. Then presently came that boat rushing out, wherein the three counterfeit devils were, with such long horns on their heads; and the middlemost came, making a long oration, and passed along our ships without turning, or looking toward us, but, with the boat, went toward the land. Then did Donnacona with all his people pursue them, and lay hold on the boat and devils, who, so soon as the men were come to them, fell prostrate in the boat, even as if they had been dead. Then were they taken up, and carried into the wood, being but a stone's cast off. Then every one withdrew himself into the wood, not one staying behind with us, where being they began to make a long discourse, so loud, that we might hear them in our ships, which lasted about half an hour. And, being ended, we began to espy Taignoagny and Domagaia coming towards us, holding their hands upward, joined together, carrying their hats under their upper garment, showing a great admiration. And Taignoagny, looking up to heaven, cried three times, "Jesus, Jesus, Jesus!" and Domagaia, doing as his fellow had done before, cried, "Jesus Maria, James Cartier."

Our captain, hearing them, and seeing their gestures

and ceremonies, asked of them what they ailed, and what was happened or chanced anew. They answered, that there were very ill tidings befallen, saying in French, "*Nenni est il bon;*" that is to say, it was not good. Our captain asked them again what it was. Then answered they, that their god Cudruaigny had spoken in Hochelaga; and that he had sent those three men to show unto them that there was so much ice and snow in that country, that whosoever went thither should die; which words when we heard, we laughed and mocked them, saying, that their god Cudruaigny was but a fool and a noddy; for he knew not what he did or said. Then bade we them show his messengers from us, that Christ would defend them from all cold, if they would believe in him. Then did they ask of our captain if he had spoken with Jesus. He answered, No; but that his priests had, and that he had told them he should have fair weather; which words when they had heard, they thanked our captain, and departed toward the wood to tell those news unto their fellows, who suddenly came, all rushing out of the wood, seeming to be very glad for those words that our captain had spoken. And to show that thereby they had had and felt great joy, so soon as they were before our ships, they all together gave out three great shrieks, and thereupon began to sing and dance as they were wont to do. But, for a resolution[1] of the matter, Taignoagny and Domagaia told our captain that their Lord Donnacona would by no means that any of them should go with him to Hochelaga, unless he would leave him some hostage to stay with him. Our captain

[1] Explanation.

answered them, that, if they would not go with him with a good will, they should stay; and that for all them he would not leave off his journey thither.

V. — How Cartier reached Hochelaga, now Montreal, at last.

So soon as we were come near to Hochelaga, there came to meet us about a thousand persons, men women, and children, who afterward did as friendly and merrily entertain and receive us as any father would do his child which he had not of long time seen, — the men dancing on one side, the women on another, and likewise the children on another. After that [they] brought us great store of fish, and of their bread made of millet, casting them into our boats so thick, that you would have thought it to fall from heaven; which when our captain saw, he, with many of his company, went on shore. So soon as ever we were a-land,[1] they came clustering about us, making very much of us, bringing their young children in their arms only to have our captain and his company to touch them, making signs and shows of great mirth and gladness, that lasted more than half an hour. Our captain, seeing their loving-kindness and entertainment of us, caused all the women orderly to be set in array, and gave them beads made of tin, and other such small trifles; and to some of the men he gave knives. Then he returned to the boats to supper; and so passed that night, all which while all those people

[1] On land, as we say, "ashore."

stood on the shore, as near our boats as they might, making great fires, and dancing very merrily, still crying, "*Aguiaze*," which in their tongue signifieth mirth and safety.

Our captain, the next day, very early in the morning, having very gorgeously attired himself, caused all his company to be set in order to go to see the town and habitation of those people, and a certain mountain that is somewhat near the city; with whom went also five gentlemen and twenty mariners, leaving the rest to keep and look to our boats. We took with us three men of Hochelaga to bring us to the place. All along, as we went, we found the way as well beaten and frequented as can be; the fairest and best country that possibly can be seen, full of as goodly great oaks as are in any wood in France, under which the ground was all covered over with fair acorns. After we had gone about four or five miles, we met by the way one of the chiefest lords of the city, accompanied with many more, who, so soon as he saw us, beckoned, and made signs upon us, that we must rest us in that place where they had made a great fire; and so we did. After that we had rested ourselves there a while, the said lord began to make a long discourse, even as we have said above they are accustomed to do, in sign of mirth and friendship, showing our captain and all his company a joyful countenance and good-will, who gave him two hatchets, a pair of knives, and a cross, which he made him to kiss, and then put it about his neck, for which he gave our captain hearty thanks. This done, we went along; and, about a mile and a half farther, we began to find goodly and large fields, full of such corn as the country

yieldeth. It is even as the millet of Brazil, as great and somewhat bigger than small peas, wherewith they live even as we do with ours.

In the midst of those fields is the city of Hochelaga, placed near, and as it were joined, to a great mountain, that is tilled round about very fertile, on the top of which you may see very far. We named it Mount Royal.[1] The city of Hochelaga is round, compassed about with timber, with three course of rampires,[2] one within another, framed like a sharp spire, but laid across above. The middlemost of them is made and built as a direct line, but perpendicular. The rampires are framed and fashioned with pieces of timber, laid along on the ground, very well and cunningly joined together after their fashion. This enclosure is in height about two rods. It hath but one gate or entry thereat, which is shut with piles, stakes, and bars. Over it, and also in many places of the wall, there be places to run along, and ladders to get up, all full of stones for the defence of it.

There are in the town about fifty houses about fifty paces long, and twelve or fifteen broad, built all of wood, covered over with the bark of the wood as broad as any boards, very finely and cunningly joined together. Within the said houses there are many rooms, lodgings, and chambers. In the midst of every one there is a great court, in the middle whereof they make their fire. They live in common together: then do the husbands, wives, and children, each one retire them-

[1] Montreal.

[2] Ramparts or palisades: they were made of trunks of trees, the outer and inner row inclining toward each other till they met, and the third row standing upright between, to support them.

selves to their chambers. They have also on the top of their houses certain garrets, wherein they keep their corn to make their bread withal. They call it *carraconny*, which they make as hereafter shall follow. They have certain pieces of wood, made hollow like those whereon we beat our hemp; and with certain beetles of wood they beat their corn to powder; then they make paste of it, and of the paste, cakes or wreaths. Then they lay them on a broad and hot stone, and then cover it with hot stones; and so they bake their bread, instead of ovens.

VI. — The Festivities at Hochelaga.

So soon as we were come near the town, a great number of the inhabitants thereof came to present themselves before us, after their fashion; making very much of us. We were by our guides brought into the midst of the town. They have in the middlemost part of their houses a large square place, being from side to side a good stone's-cast, whither we were brought, and there with signs were commanded to stay. Then suddenly all the women and maidens of the town gathered themselves together, part of which had their arms full of young children; and as many as could came to rub our faces, our arms, and what part of the body soever they could touch, weeping for very joy that they saw us, showing us the best countenance that possibly they could, desiring us with their signs that it would please us to touch their children. That done, the men caused the women to withdraw themselves back; then they every one sat down on the ground round about us, as if

they would have shown and rehearsed some comedy or other show; then presently came the women again, every one bringing a large square mat, in manner of carpets; and, spreading abroad on the ground in that place, they caused us to sit upon them.

That done, the lord and king of the country was brought upon nine or ten men's shoulders, — whom in their tongue they call Agouhanna, — sitting upon a great stag's skin; and they laid him down upon the foresaid mats, near to the captain, every one beckoning unto us that he was their lord and king. This Agouhanna was a man about fifty years old: he was no whit better apparelled than any of the rest, only except he had a certain thing made of the skins of hedgehogs, like a red wreath; and that was instead of his crown. He was full of the palsy; and his members shrunk together. After he had with certain signs saluted our captain and all his company, and by manifest tokens bid all welcome, he showed his legs and arms to our captain, and with signs desired him to touch them; and so he did, rubing them with his own hands. Then did Agouhanna take the wreath or crown he had about his head, and gave it unto our captain; that done, they brought before him divers diseased men, — some blind, some cripple, some lame and impotent, and some so old that the hair of their eyelids came down, and covered their cheeks, — and laid them all along before our captain, to the end they might of him be touched; for it seemed unto them that God was descended and come down from heaven to heal them.

Our captain, seeing the misery and devotion of this poor people, recited the Gospel of St. John, that is to

say, "In the beginning was the Word," touching every one that were diseased, praying to God that it would please him to open the hearts of this poor people, and to make them know his holy word, and that they might receive baptism and Christendom. That done, he took a service-book in his hand, and with a loud voice read all the passion[1] of Christ, word by word, that all the standers-by might hear him; all which while this poor people kept silence, and were marvellously attentive; looking up to heaven, and imitating us in gestures. Then he caused the men all orderly to be set on one side, the women on another, and likewise the children on another: and to the chiefest of them he gave hatchets; to the other, knives; and to the women, beads, and such other small trifles. Then, where the children were, he cast rings, counters, and brooches made of tin, whereat they seemed to be very glad. That done, our captain commanded trumpets and other musical instruments to be sounded, which when they heard, they were very merry.

Then we took our leave, and went to our boat. The women, seeing that, put themselves before, to stay us, and brought us out of their meats that they had made ready for us, as fish, pottage, beans, and such other things, thinking to make us eat and dine in that place. But, because the meats had no savor at all of salt, we liked them not, but thanked them, and with signs gave them to understand that we had no need to eat. When we were out of the town, divers of the men and women followed us, and brought us to the top of the foresaid mountain, which we named Mount Royal: it is about a

[1] Crucifixion.

league from the town. When as we were on the top of it, we might discern and plainly see thirty leagues about. On the north side of it there are many hills to be seen, running west and east, and as many more on the south, amongst and between the which the country is as fair and as pleasant as possibly can be seen; being level, smooth, and very plain, fit to be husbanded and tilled. And in the midst of these fields we saw the river, farther up, a great way, than where we had left our boats, where was the greatest and the swiftest fall of water that anywhere hath been seen, and as great, wide, and large as our sight might discern, going south-west along three fair and round mountains that we saw, as we judged, about fifteen leagues from us.

Those which brought us thither told and showed us, that, in the said river, there were three such falls of water more, as that was where we had left our boats; but, because we could not understand their language, we could not know how far they were one from another. Moreover, they showed us with signs, that, the said three falls being past, a man might sail the space of three months more alongst that river; and that along the hills that are on the north side there is a great river, which — even as the other — cometh from the west: we thought it to be the river that runneth through the country of Saguenay.

[Cartier afterwards returned to the harbor of the Holy Cross, where he and his men passed the winter of 1535–36 with much suffering. They were the first Europeans to pass the winter in the northern part of North America. The French claim to the possession of this continent was founded on Cartier's discoveries. The expedition reached St. Malo, on its return, July 16, 1536.]

BOOK VI.

THE ADVENTURES OF DE SOTO.

(A.D. 1538–1542.)

These extracts are taken from "The Worthy and Famous History of the Travels, Discovery, and Conquest of Terra Florida, accomplished and effected by that worthy General and Captain, Don Ferdinando de Soto, and six hundred Spaniards his followers." (Reprinted by Hakluyt Society, 1851.) Pages 9–16, 27–32, 89–92, 120–122, 125–127. This is a translation, made by Hakluyt in 1609, of a narrative by one of the companions of De Soto, first published in 1557.

THE ADVENTURES OF DE SOTO.

I. — How De Soto set Sail.

CAPTAIN SOTO was the son of a squire of Xerez of Badajos. He went into the Spanish Indies when Peter Arias of Avila was governor of the West Indies. And there he was without any thing else of his own, save his sword and target. And, for his good qualities and valor, Peter Arias made him captain of a troop of horsemen; and, by his commandment, he went with Fernando Pizarro to the conquest of Peru, where (as many persons of credit reported, which were there present) . . . he passed all other captains and principal persons. For which cause, besides his part of the treasure of Atabalipa, he had a good share; whereby in time he gathered an hundred and fourscore ducats

DE SOTO.

together, with that which fell to his part, which he brought into Spain. . . . The emperor made him the governor of the Isle of Cuba, and *adelantado* or president of Florida, with a title of marquis of certain part of the lands that he should conquer. . . .

When Don Ferdinando had obtained the government, there came a gentleman from the Indies to the court, named Cabeza de Vaca, which had been with the governor Pamphilo de Narvaez, which died in Florida, — who reported that Narvaez was cast away at sea, with all the company that went with him, and how he with four more escaped, and arrived in New Spain; and he brought a relation in writing of that which he had seen in Florida, which said in some places, "In such a place I have seen this; and the rest which here I saw, I leave to confer of between his Majesty and myself." . . . And he informed them, "that it was the richest country in the world." Don Ferdinand de Soto was very desirous to have him with him, and made him a favorable offer; and after they were agreed, because Soto gave him not a sum of money which he demanded to buy a ship, they broke off again. . . .

The Portuguese departed from Elvas the 15th of January, and came to Seville the 19th of the same month, and went to the lodging of the governor, and entered into a court, over the which there were certain galleries where he was, who came down, and received them at the stairs whereby they went up into the galleries. When he was come up, he commanded chairs to be given them to sit on. And Andrew de Vasconcelos told him who he and the other Portuguese were, and how they all were come to accompany him, and serve him in his

voyage. He gave him thanks, and made show of great contentment for his coming and offer. And, the table being already laid, he invited them to dinner. And, being at dinner, he commanded his steward to seek a lodging for them near unto his own, where they might be lodged. The *adelantado* departed from Seville to Saint Lucar with all the people which were to go with him. And he commanded a muster to be made, at the which the Portuguese showed themselves armed in very bright armor, and the Castilians very gallant with silk upon silk, with many pinkings and cuts. The governor, because these braveries[1] in such an action did not like[2] him, commanded that they should muster another day, and every one should come forth with his armor; at the which the Portuguese came, as at the first, with very good armor. The governor placed them in order near unto the standard which the ensign-bearer carried. The Castilians, for the most part, did wear very bad and rusty shirts of mail, and all of them head-pieces and steel caps, and very bad lances; and some of them sought to come among the Portuguese.

So those passed, and were counted and enrolled, which Soto liked and accepted of, and did accompany him into Florida, which were in all six hundred men. He had already bought seven ships, and had all necessary provision aboard them. He appointed captains, and delivered to every one his ship, and gave them in a roll what people every one should carry with them. . . .

In the year of our Lord 1538, in the month of April, the *adelantado* delivered his ships to the captains which were to go in them; and took for himself a new

[1] Fine clothes. [2] Please.

ship, and good of sail, and gave another to Andrew de Vasconcelos, in which the Portuguese went. He went over the bar of San Lucar on Sunday, being San Lazarus day, in the morning, of the month and year aforesaid, with great joy, commanding his trumpets to be sounded, and many shots of the ordnance to be discharged.

II. — De Soto attacks the Indians, and finds a Fellow-Countryman.

From the town of Ucita,[1] the governor sent the alcalde mayor, Baltasar de Gallegos, with forty horsemen and eighty footmen, into the country, to see if they could take any Indians; and the captain, John Rodriguez Lobillo, another way, with fifty footmen. The most of them were swordmen and targetiers;[2] and the rest were shot and crossbow men. They passed through a country full of bogs, where horses could not travel. Half a league from the camp, they lighted upon certain cabins of Indians near a river. The people that were in them leaped into the river; yet they took four Indian women: and twenty Indians charged us, and so distressed us, that we were forced to retire to our camp, being, as they are, exceeding ready with their weapons.

It is a people so warlike and so nimble, that they care not a whit for any footmen; for, if their enemies charge them, they run away; and, if they turn their

[1] Probably near the Hillsborough River in Florida.

[2] Men who carried swords and targets. Others carried matchlock guns (arquebuses) or cross-bows.

backs, they are presently upon them; and the thing they most flee is the shot of an arrow. They never stand still, but are always running and traversing[1] from one place to another, by reason whereof neither crossbow nor arquebuse can aim at them: and, before one crossbow-man can make one shot, an Indian will discharge three or four arrows; and he seldom misseth what he shooteth at. An arrow, where it findeth no

LANDING OF DE SOTO.

armor, pierceth as deeply as a crossbow. Their bows are very long; and their arrows are made of certain canes like reeds, very heavy, and so strong, that a sharp cane passeth through a target. Some they arm in the point with a sharp bone of a fish like a chisel; and in

[1] Crossing.

others they fasten certain stones like points of diamonds. For the most part, when they light upon an armor, they break in the place where they are bound together. Those of cane do split and pierce a coat of mail, and are more hurtful than the other.

John Rodriguez Lobillo returned to the camp with six men wounded, whereof one died, and brought the four Indian women which Baltasar Gallegos had taken in the cabins or cottages. Two leagues from the town, coming into the plain field, he espied ten or eleven Indians, among whom was a Christian, which was naked and scorched with the sun, and had his arms razed,[1] after the manner of the Indians, and differed nothing at all from them. And, as soon as the horsemen saw them, they ran toward them. The Indians fled, and some of them hid themselves in a wood; and they overtook two or three of them which were wounded. And the Christian, seeing an horseman run upon him with his lance, began to cry out, "Sirs, I am a Christian! Slay me not, nor these Indians; for they have saved my life." And straightway he called them, and put them out of fear; and they came forth of the wood unto them. The horsemen took both the Christian and the Indians up behind them, and toward night came into the camp with much joy; which thing being known by the governor and them that remained in the camp, they were received with the like.[2]

[1] Made smooth. [2] With the same joy.

III. — The Story of John Ortiz.

This Christian's name was John Ortiz; and he was born in Seville in worshipful parentage.[1] He was twelve years in the hands of the Indians. He came into this country with Pamphilo de Narvaez, and returned in the ships to the Island of Cuba, where the wife of the governor, Pamphilo de Narvaez, was; and by his commandment, with twenty or thirty in a brigantine, returned back again to Florida. And coming to the port in the sight of the town, on the shore they saw a cane sticking in the ground, and riven[2] at the top, and a letter in it. And they believed that the governor had left it there to give advertisement[3] of himself when he resolved to go up into the land; and they demanded it of four or five Indians which walked along the sea-shore; and they bade them by signs to come on shore for it, which, against the will of the rest, John Ortiz and another did.

And as soon as they were on land, from the houses of the town issued a great number of Indians, which compassed them about, and took them in a place where they could not flee; and the other, which sought to defend himself, they presently killed upon the place, and took John Ortiz alive, and carried him to Ucita, their lord. And those of the brigantine sought not to land, but put themselves to sea, and returned to the Island of Cuba. Ucita commanded to bind John Ortiz hand and foot upon four stakes aloft upon a raft, and to make a fire under him, that there he might be

[1] Of a good family. [2] Split. [3] Information.

burned. But a daughter of his desired him that he would not put him to death, alleging that one only Christian could do him neither hurt nor good, telling him that it was more for his honor to keep him as a captive. And Ucita granted her request, and commanded him to be cured of his wounds; and, as soon as he was whole, he gave him the charge of the keeping of the temple, because that by night the wolves did carry away the dead bodies out of the same; who commended himself to God, and took upon him the charge of his temple.

One night the wolves got from him the body of a little child, the son of a principal Indian; and, going after them, he threw a dart at one of the wolves, and struck him[1] that carried away the body, who, feeling himself wounded, left it, and fell down dead near the place; and he, not wotting[2] what he had done, because it was night, went back again to the temple. The morning being come, and finding not the body of the child, he was very sad. As soon as Ucita knew thereof, he resolved to put him to death, and sent by the track which he said the wolves went, and found the body of the child, and the wolf dead a little beyond: whereat Ucita was much contented with the Christian, and with the watch which he kept in the temple, and from thenceforward esteemed him much.

Three years after he fell into his hands, there came another lord, called Mocoço, who dwelleth two days' journey from the port, and burned his town. Ucita fled to another town that he had in another seaport. Thus John Ortiz lost his office and favor that he had

[1] The wolf. [2] Knowing.

with him. These people, being worshippers of the devil, are wont to offer up unto him the lives and blood of their Indians, or of any other people they can come by; and they report, that, when he will have them do that sacrifice unto him, he speaketh with them, and telleth them that he is athirst, and willeth them to sacrifice unto him. John Ortiz had notice by the damsel that had delivered him from the fire, how her father was determined to sacrifice him the day following, who willed him to flee to Mocoço, for she knew that he would use him well; for she heard say that he had asked for him, and said he would be glad to see him. And, because he knew not the way, she went with him half a league out of the town by night, and set him in the way, and returned, because she would not be discovered.

John Ortiz travelled all that night, and by the morning came unto a river which is in the territory of Mocoço; and there he saw two Indians fishing. And because they were in war with the people of Ucita, and their languages were different, and he knew not the language of Mocoço, he was afraid — because he could not tell them who he was, nor how he came thither; nor was able to answer any thing for himself — that they would kill him, taking him for one of the Indians of Ucita. And, before they espied him, he came to the place where they had laid their weapons; and, as soon as they saw him, they fled toward the town; and although he willed them to stay, because he meant to do them no hurt, yet they understood him not, and ran away as fast as ever they could. And as soon as they came to the town, with great outcries, many Indians

came forth against him, and began to compass[1] him to shoot at him. John Ortiz, seeing himself in so great danger, shielded himself with certain trees, and began to shriek out, and cry very loud, and to tell them that he was a Christian, and that he was fled from Ucita, and was come to see and serve Mocoço, his lord.

It pleased God, that at that very instant there came thither an Indian that could speak the language, and understood him, and pacified the rest, who told them what he said. Then ran from thence three or four Indians to bear the news to their lord, who came forth a quarter of a league from the town to receive him, and was very glad of him. He caused him presently to swear, according to the custom of the Christians, that he would not run away from him to any other lord, and promised him to entreat[2] him very well, and that, if at any time there came any Christians into that country, he would freely let him go, and give him leave to go, to them; and likewise took his oath to perform the same according to the Indian custom. About three years after, certain Indians which were fishing at sea, two leagues from the town, brought news to Mocoço that they had seen ships; and he called John Ortiz, and gave him leave to go his way; who, taking his leave of him, with all the haste he could, came to the sea; and, finding no ships, he thought it to be some deceit, and that the cacique[3] had done the same to learn his mind: so he dwelt with Mocoço nine years, with small hope of seeing any Christians.

As soon as our governor arrived in Florida, it was known to Mocoço; and straightway he signified to John

[1] Surround. [2] Treat. [3] Chief.

Ortiz that Christians were lodged in the town of Ucita. And he thought he had jested with him, as he had done before, and told him, that by this time he had forgotten the Christians, and thought of nothing else but to serve him. But he assured him that it was so, and gave him license to go unto them, saying unto him, that if he would not do it, and if the Christians should go their way, he should not blame him; for he had fulfilled that which he had promised him. The joy of John Ortiz was so great, that he could not believe that it was true; notwithstanding, he gave him thanks, and took his leave of him. And Mocoço gave him ten or eleven principal Indians to bear him company. And, as they went to the port where the governor was, they met with Baltasar de Gallegos, as I have declared before.

IV. — De Soto discovers the Mississippi.

The next day, when the governor expected the cacique, there came many Indians with their bows and arrows, with a purpose to set upon[1] the Christians. The governor had commanded all the horsemen to be armed and on horseback, and in a readiness. When the Indians saw that they were ready, they stayed a crossbow-shot from the place where the governor was, near a brook. And, after half an hour that they had stood there still, there came to the camp six principal Indians, and said they came to see what people they were; and that long ago they had been informed by their forefathers that a white people should subdue them, and therefore they

[1] Attack.

would return to their cacique, and bid him come presently, to obey and serve the governor. And, after they had presented him with six or seven skins and mantles which they brought, they took their leave of him, and returned with the other, which waited for them by the brookside. The cacique never came again, nor sent other message.

And, because in the town where the governor lodged there was small store of maize, he removed to another half a league from Rio Grande,[1] where they found plenty of maize. And he went to see the river, and found that near unto it was great store of timber to make barges, and good situation of ground to encamp in. Presently he removed himself thither. They made houses, and pitched their camp in a plain field, a cross-bow-shot from the river. And thither was gathered all the maize of the towns which they had lately passed. They began presently to cut and hew down timber, and to saw planks for barges. The Indians came presently down the river: they leaped on shore, and declared to the governor that they were subjects of a great lord, whose name was Aquixo, who was lord of many towns, and governed many people on the other side of the river; and came to tell him, on his behalf, that the next day he, with all his men, would come to see what it would please him to command him.

The next day, with speed, the cacique came with two hundred canoes full of Indians, with their bows and arrows, painted, and with great plumes of white feathers, and many other colors, with shields in their hands, wherewith they defended the rowers on both sides; and

[1] The Great River, or Mississippi.

the men-of-war stood from the head to the stern, with their bows and arrows in their hands. The canoe wherein the cacique was had a tilt[1] over the stern; and he sat under the tilt: and so were other canoes of the principal Indians. And from under the tilt, where the chief man sat, he governed and commanded the other people. All joined together, and came within a stone's-cast of the shore.

From thence the cacique said to the governor, which walked along the river's side with others that waited on him, that he was come thither to visit, to honor, and to obey him, because he knew he was the greatest and mightiest lord on the earth: therefore he would see what he would command him to do. The governor yielded him thanks, and requested him to come on shore, that they might the better communicate together. And, without any answer to that point, he sent him three canoes, wherein was great store of fish, and loaves made of the substance of prunes,[2] like unto bricks. After he had received all, he thanked him, and prayed him again to come on shore. And, because the cacique's purpose was to see if with dissimulation he might do some hurt, when they saw that the governor and his men were in readiness, they began to go from the shore; and, with a great cry, the crossbow-men which were ready shot at them, and slew five or six of them. They retired with great order. None did leave his oar, though the next to him were slain; and, shielding themselves, they went farther off. Afterward they came many times, and landed; and, when any of us came toward them, they fled unto their canoes, which were pleasant to

[1] An awning. [2] Persimmons.

behold, for they were very great, and well made, and had their awnings, plumes, shields, and flags; and, with the multitude of people that were in them, they seemed to be a fair army of galleys.

In thirty days' space, while the governor remained there, they made four barges, in three of which he commanded twelve horsemen to enter (in each of them four), in a morning, three hours before day, — men which he trusted would land in despite of the Indians, and make sure the passage, or die; and some footmen, being crossbow-men, went with them, and rowers to set them on the other side. And in the other barge he commanded John de Guzman to pass with the footmen, which was made captain instead of Francisco Maldonado. And, because the stream was swift, they went a quarter of a league up the river, along the bank, and, crossing over, fell down with the stream, and landed right over against the camps.

Two stones'-cast before they came to land, the horsemen went out of the barges on horseback, to a sandy plot of very hard and clear ground, where all of them landed without any resistance. As soon as those that passed first were on land on the other side, the barges returned to the place where the governor was; and, within two hours after sunrising, all the people were over.[1] The river was almost half a league broad. If a man stood still on the other side, it could not be discerned whether he were a man or no. The river was of great depth, and of a strong current. The river was always muddy. There came down the river continually many trees and timber, which the force of the water and

[1] The place of crossing was probably near Helena, Arkansas.

stream brought down. There was great store of fish in it, of sundry sorts, and the most of it differing from the fresh-water fish of Spain, as hereafter shall be shown.

V. — De Soto's vain attempts to reach the Sea.

That day came an Indian to the governor from the cacique of Guachoya, and said that his lord would come the next day. The next day they saw many canoes come up the river; and on the other side of the great river they assembled together in the space of an hour. They consulted whether they should come or not; and at length concluded to come, and crossed the river. In them came the cacique of Guachoya, and brought with him many Indians, with great store of fish, dogs, deer's skins, and mantles. And, as soon as they landed, they went to the lodging of the governor, and presented him their gifts. And the cacique uttered these words: —

"Mighty and excellent lord, I beseech your lordship to pardon me the error which I committed in absenting myself, and not tarrying in this town to have received your lordship. . . . But I feared that which I needed not to have feared, and so did that which was not reason to do." . . .

The governor received him with much joy, and gave him thanks for his present and offer. He asked him whether he had any notice of the sea. He answered, No, nor of any towns down the river on that side, save that two leagues from thence was one town of a principal Indian, a subject of his; and on the other side of the river, three days' journey from thence down the

river, was the province of Quigalta, which was the greatest lord that was in that country. The governor thought that the cacique lied unto him to rid[1] him out of his own towns, and sent John Danusco, with eight horsemen, down the river to see what habitation there was, and to inform himself if there were any notice of the sea. He travelled eight days; and at his return he said, that, in all that time, he was not able to go above fourteen or fifteen leagues, because of the great creeks that came out of the river, and groves of canes and thick woods that were along the banks of the river, and that he had found no habitation.

The governor fell into great dumps to see how hard it was to get to the sea, and worse because his men and horses every day diminished, being without succor to sustain themselves in the country; and with that thought he fell sick. But, before he took his bed, he sent an Indian to the cacique of Quigalta, to tell him that he was the child of the sun; and that, all the way that he came, all men obeyed and served him; that he requested him to accept of his friendship, and come unto him, for he would be very glad to see him; and, in sign of love and obedience, to bring something with him of that which in his country was most esteemed. The cacique answered by the same Indian, —

"That whereas he said he was the child of the sun, if he would dry up the river, he would believe him. And touching the rest, that he was wont to visit none; but, rather, that all those of whom he had notice did visit him, served, obeyed, and paid him tributes, either willingly or perforce: therefore, if he desired to see him,

[1] i.e., get rid of him.

it were best that he should come thither; that, if he came in peace, he would receive him with special good-will; and, if in war, in like manner he would attend him in the town where he was; and that for him, or any other, he would not shrink one foot back."

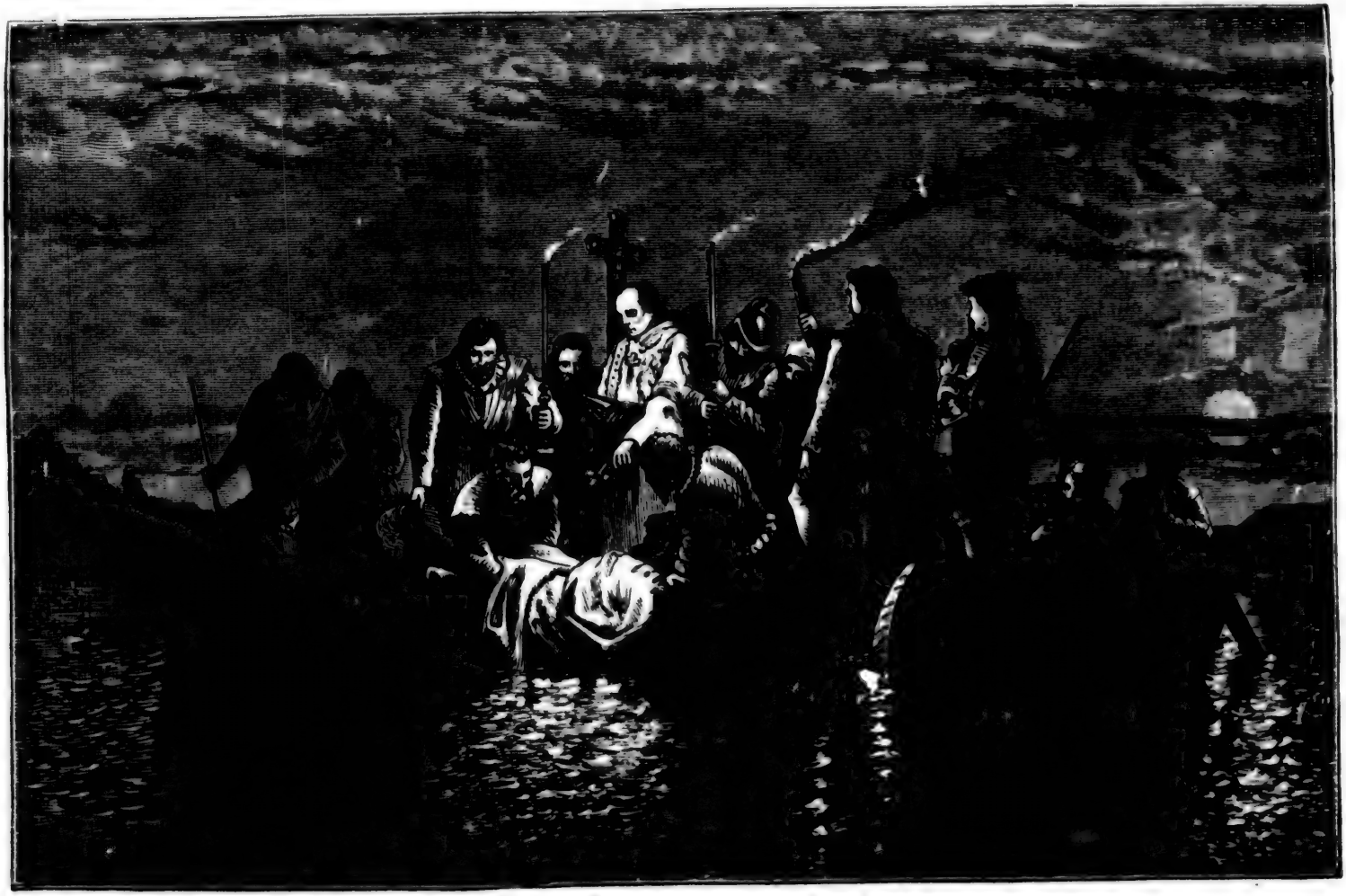
By that time the Indian returned with this answer, the governor had betaken himself to bed, being evil handled[1] with fevers, and was much aggrieved that he was not in case to pass presently the river, and to seek him, to see if he could abate that pride of his,[2] considering the river went now very strongly in those parts; for it was near half a league broad, and sixteen fathoms deep, and very furious, and ran with a great current; and on both sides there were many Indians; and his power[3] was not now so great, but that he had need to help himself rather by sleights than by force. The Indians of Guachoya came every day with fish in such numbers, that the town was full of them. The cacique said, that, on a certain night, he of Quigalta would come to give battle to the governor, which the governor imagined that he had devised to drive him out of his country, and commanded him to be put in hold;[4] and that night, and all the rest, there was good watch kept. He asked him wherefore Quigalta came not. He said that he came; but that he saw him prepared, and therefore durst not give the attempt. And all night the horsemen went the round; and two and two of every squadron rode about, and visited the scouts that were without the town in their standings by the passages, and the crossbow-men that kept the canoes in the rivers.

[1] Sorely troubled.
[2] i.e., subdue the Indian chief.
[3] Military force.
[4] Confinement.

VI. — Death and Burial of De Soto.

The next day, being the 21st of May, 1542, departed out of this life the valorous, virtuous, and valiant captain, Don Ferdinando de Soto, governor of Cuba, and *adelantado* of Florida, whom fortune advanced, as it used to do others, that he might have the higher fall. He departed in such a place and at such a time, as [that] in his sickness he had but little comfort; and the danger wherein all his people were of perishing in that country, which appeared before their eyes, was cause sufficient why every one of them had need of comfort, and why they did not visit nor accompany him as they ought to have done. Luys de Moscoso determined to conceal his death from the Indians, because Ferdinando de Soto had made them believe that the Christians were immortal, and also because they took him to be hardy, wise, and valiant; and, if they should know that he was dead, they would be bold to set upon[1] the Christians, though they lived peaceably by them. In regard to their disposition, and because they were nothing constant, and believed all that was told them, the *adelantado* made them believe that he knew some things that passed in secret among themselves, without their knowledge how or in what manner he came by them; and that the figure which appeared in a glass[2] which he showed them did tell him whatsoever they practised and went about; and therefore neither in word nor deed durst they attempt any thing that might be prejudicial unto him.

[1] Attack. [2] i.e., their own reflection in a mirror.



THE BURIAL OF DE SOTO.

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As soon as he was dead, Luys de Moscoso commanded to put him secretly in a house, where he remained three days; and, removing him from thence, commanded him to be buried in the night at one of the gates of the town within the wall. And as the Indians had seen him sick, and missed him, so did they suspect what might be. And passing by the place where he was buried, seeing the earth moved, they looked and spake one to another. Luys de Moscoso, understanding of it, commanded him to be taken up by night, and to cast a great deal of sand into the mantles wherein he was winded up, wherein he was carried in a canoe, and thrown into the midst of the river.

The cacique of Guachoya inquired for him, demanding what was become of his brother and lord, the governor. Luys de Moscoso told him that he was gone to heaven, as many other times he did; and, because he was to stay there certain days, he had left him in his place. The cacique thought with himself that he was dead, and commanded two young and well-proportioned Indians to be brought thither, and said that the use of that country was, when any lord died, to kill Indians to wait upon him, and serve him by the way; and for that purpose, by his commandment, were those come thither; and prayed Luys de Moscoso to command them to be beheaded, that they might attend and serve his lord and brother. Luys de Moscoso told him that the governor was not dead, but gone to heaven, and that of his own Christian soldiers he had taken such as he needed to serve him; and prayed him to command those Indians to be loosed, and not to use

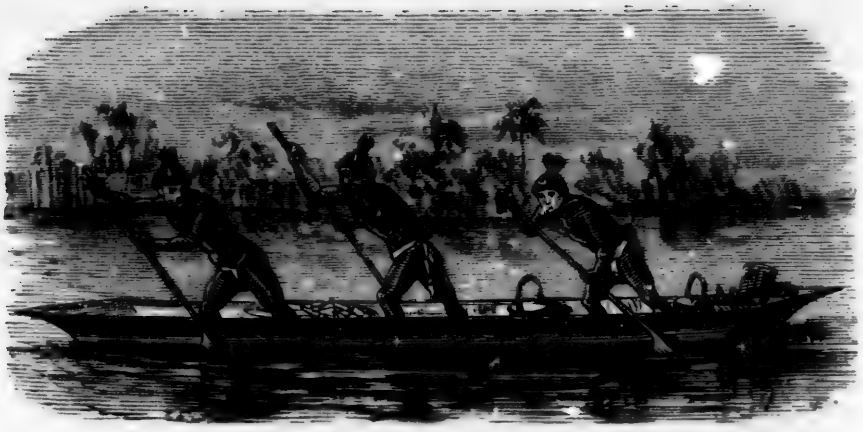
any such bad custom from thenceforth. Straightway he commanded them to be loosed, and to get them home to their houses. And one of them would not go, saying that he would not serve him that without desert had judged him to death; but that he would serve him, as long as he lived, which had saved his life.

[After the death of De Soto, his companions descended the Mississippi to its mouth.]

BOOK VII.

THE FRENCH IN FLORIDA.

(A.D. 1562–1565.)



INDIANS IN CANOE.

Ribaut's personal narrative is here reprinted from Hakluyt's "Divers Voyages" (London, Hakluyt Society, 1850), pp. 91–115.

These extracts from Laudonnière's narrative are reprinted from Hakluyt's translation in his "Voyages" (edition of 1810), vol. iii. pp. 371–373, 378–384, 386, 387, 423–427.

Parkman tells the story of these adventures in the first half of his "Pioneers of France in the New World." There is a memoir of Ribaut by Jared Sparks, in his "American Biography," vol. xvii.

THE FRENCH IN FLORIDA.

I. — Jean Ribaut in Florida.

["Dedicated to a great nobleman[1] of France, and translated into English by one Thomas Hackit."]

WHEREAS, in the year of our Lord God 1562, it pleased God to move your Honor to choose and appoint us to discover and view a certain long coast of the West India, from the head of the land called La Florida, drawing toward the north part, unto the head of Britons,[2] distant from the said head of La Florida nine hundred leagues, or thereabout, to the end we might certify you, and make true report of the temperature, fertility, ports, havens, rivers, and generally of all [illegible]mmodities that be seen and found in that land, [illegible] to learn what people were there dwelling. . . .

Thursday, the last of April, at the break of the day, we discovered and clearly perceived a fair coast,

[1] Admiral De Coligny.

[2] i.e., Cape Breton. The whole coast was then thought a part of India.

stretching of a great length, covered with an infinite number of high and fair trees; we being not past seven or eight leagues from the shore. . . .

Where finding thirty-six fathom water [we] entered into a goodly and great river,[1] which, as we went, found to increase still in depth and largeness, boiling and roaring through the multitude of all kind of fish. This being entered, we perceived a great number of the Indians, inhabitants there, coming along the sands and sea-banks, coming near unto us, without any taking of fear or doubt, showing unto us the easiest landing-place, and thereupon, we, giving them also on our parts, thanks of assurance and friendliness. Forthwith, one of appearance out of the best among them,[2] brother unto one of their kings or governors, commanded one of the Indians to enter into the water, and to approach our boats, to show us the coast's landing-place. We, seeing this, without any more doubting or difficulty landed; and the messenger, after we had rewarded him with some looking-glass and other pretty things of small value, ran incontinently toward his lord, who forthwith sent me his girdle in token of assurance and friendship, which girdle was made of red leather, as well covered and colored as was possible. And, as I began to go toward him, he set forth and came and received me gently, and raised[3] after his manner, all his men following with great silence and modesty; yea, more than our men did. And after we had awhile with gentle usage congratulated with him, we fell to the ground a little way from them, to call upon the name

[1] Probably St. John's River, Florida.

[2] i.e., one of the best in appearance. [3] Saluted.

of God, and to beseech him to continue still his goodness towards us, and bring to the knowledge of our Saviour Christ this poor people. While we were thus praying, they — sitting upon the ground, which was strewed and dressed with bay-boughs — beheld and harkened unto us very attentively, without either speaking or moving; and as I made a sign unto their king, lifting up mine arm, and stretching forth one finger, only to make them look up to heavenward, he likewise, lifting up his arm toward heaven, put forth two fingers, whereby it seemed that he made us to understand that they worshipped the sun and moon for gods; as afterwards we understood it so. In the mean time their numbers increased; and thither came the king's brother that was first with us, their mother, wives, sisters, and children; and, being thus assembled, they caused a great number of bay-boughs to be cut, and therewith a place to be dressed for us, distant from theirs two fathom. For it is their manner to talk and bargain, sitting, and the chief of them to be apart from the meaner sort, with a show of great obedience to their kings, superiors, and elders. They be all naked, and of a goodly stature, mighty, and as well shapen and proportioned of body, as any people in the world, very gentle, courteous, and of a good nature. . . .

After we had tarried in this north side of the river the most part of the day, — which river we have called May, for that we discovered the same the first day of the month, — we congratulated, made alliance, and entered into amity with them, and presented the king and his brethren with gowns of blue cloth garnished with yellow fleur-de-luces And it seemed that they

were sorry for our departure; so that the most part of them entered into the water up to the neck, to set our boats afloat. . . .

Soon after this came thither the king with his brethren, and others with bows and arrows in their hands, using therewithal a goodly and a grave fashion, with their behavior right soldierlike, and [of] as warlike boldness as may be. They were naked and painted, as the other, their hair likewise long, and trussed up — with a lace made of herbs — to the top of their heads; but they had neither their wives nor children in their company. After we had a good while lovingly entertained and presented them with like gifts of habersher[1] wares, cutting-hooks, and hatchets, and clothed the king and his brethren with like robes as we had given to them on the other side, we entered and viewed the country thereabouts, which is the fairest, fruitfullest, and pleasantest of all the world, abounding in honey, venison, wild fowl, forests, woods of all sorts, palm-trees, cypress, and cedars, bays the highest and greatest, with also the fairest vines in all the world, with grapes according, which without natural art, and without man's help or trimming, will grow to tops of oaks and other trees that be of a wonderful greatness and height. And the sight of the fair meadows is a pleasure not able to be expressed with tongue; full of herns, curlews, bitterns, mallards, egrets, woodcocks, and all other kind of small birds, with harts, hinds, bucks, wild swine, and all other kinds of wild beasts, as we perceived well, both by their footing there, and also afterwards, in other places, by their cry and roaring in the night. . . .

[1] Haberdashery, or small wares.

The next day, in the morning, we returned to land again, accompanied with the captains, gentlemen, and soldiers, and others of our small troop, carrying with us a pillar or column of hard stone, our king's arms granted therein, to plant and set the same in the entrance of the port in some high place, where it might be easily seen. And, being come thither before the Indians were assembled, we espied, on the south side of the river, a place very fit for that purpose upon a little hill, compassed with cypress, bays, palms, and other trees, with sweet-smelling and pleasant shrubs, in the middle whereof we planted the first bound [1] or limit of his Majesty. . . .

The 20th of May, we planted another column or pillar, graven with the king's arms, on the south side, in a high place at the entrance of a great river, which we called Libourne,[2] where there is a lake of fresh water very good. . . . There we saw the fairest and the greatest vines with grapes according, and young trees and small woods, very well smelling, that ever were seen ; whereby it appeareth to be the pleasantest and most commodious dwelling of all the world. Wherefore, my lord, trusting you will not think it amiss, considering the commodities that may be brought thence, if we leave a number of men there, which may fortify and provide themselves of things necessary ; for, in all new discoveries, it is the chiefest thing that may be done, at the beginning to fortify and people the country. I had not so soon [3] set this forth to our company, but many of them offered to tarry there, yet with such a good-will and jolly courage, that such a number did

[1] Boundary stone. [2] Probably Skull Creek. [3] i.e, I had hardly.

thus offer themselves, that we had much ado to stay their importunity. And namely of our shipmates and principal pilots, and such as we could not spare. Howbeit, we left there but to the number of thirty in all, gentlemen, soldiers, and mariners, and that at their own suit and prayer, and of their own free wills, and by the advice and deliberation of the gentlemen sent on the behalf of the prince and yours.

And have left unto the fore-head[1] and rulers, following therein your good-will, Capt. Albert de la Pierria, a soldier of long experience, and the first that from the beginning did offer to tarry. And further, by their advice, choice, and will, installed them in an island[2] on the north side, a place of strong situation and commodious, upon a river which we named Chenonceau, and the habitation and fortress Charlesfort. The next day we determined to depart from this place, being as well contented as was possible that we had so happily ended our business, with good hope, if occasion would permit, to discover perfectly the River of Jordan. For this cause, we hoisted our sails about ten of the clock in the morning. After we were ready to depart, Capt. Ribaut commanded to shoot off our ordnance to give a farewell to our Frenchmen, which failed not to do the like on their part. This being done, we sailed toward the north; and then we named this river Port Royal because of the largeness and excellent fairness of the same.

[The remains of this fortress of Charlesfort are undoubtedly those still to be seen on "Old Fort Plantation," near Beaufort, S.C., at the junction of Beaufort River with Battery Creek. The compiler of this

[1] i.e., at the head. [2] Port Royal Island.

book was encamped on this plantation for several months during the civil war, and visited the fortifications very frequently. They are built of a kind of concrete made with oyster-shells, and called *coquina*, this being the material also employed in Spanish buildings of the same period at St. Augustine. There is another similar fortification a little farther up Beaufort River.]

II. — Alone in the New World.

[The thirty Frenchmen left behind at Port Royal by Ribaut were probably the first Europeans who deliberately undertook to remain without ships upon the Atlantic shore of North America. Parkman says of them, "Albert and his companions might watch the receding ships. . . . They were alone in those fearful solitudes. From the north pole to Mexico there was no Christian denizen but they." — Pioneers of France, p. 35.

The following is from the narrative of their adventures written by Laudonnière, who afterwards came to search for them, but did not arrive till they had gone.]

Our men, after our departure, never rested, but night and day did fortify themselves, being in good hope, that, after their fort was finished, they would begin to discover farther up within the river. It happened one day, as certain of them were in cutting of roots in the groves, that they espied, on the sudden, an Indian that hunted the deer, which, finding himself so near upon them, was much dismayed; but our men began to draw near unto him, and to use him so courteously, that he became assured, and followed them to Charlesfort, where every man sought to do him pleasure. Capt. Albert was very joyful of his coming, which after he had given him a shirt, and some other trifles, he asked him of his dwelling. The Indian answered him, that it was farther up within the river, and that he was vassal

of King Audusta: he also showed him with his hand the limits of his habitation. After much other talk, the Indian desired leave to depart, because it drew toward night, which Capt. Albert granted him very willingly. . . .

[They afterward went to a feast among these Indians.]

When the feast, therefore, was finished, our men returned unto Charlesfort, where having remained but a while, their victuals began to wax short, which forced them to have recourse unto their neighbors, and to pray them to succor them in their necessity, which gave them part of all the victuals which they had, and kept no more unto themselves than would serve to sow their fields. They told them further, that, for this cause, it was needful for them to retire themselves into the woods, to live of mast[1] and roots until the time of harvest, being as sorry as might be that they were not able further to aid them. They gave them, also, counsel to go towards the country of King Couexis, a man of might and renown in this province, which maketh his abode toward the South, abounding at all seasons, and replenished with such quantity of mill,[2] corn, and beans, that by his only succor they might be able to live a very long time. But, before they should come into his territories, they were able to repair unto a king, called Ouade, the brother of Couexis, which in mill, beans, and corn, was no less wealthy, and withal very liberal, and would be very joyful if he might but once see them.

[1] Acorns and other dried fruits.

[2] It is uncertain what kind of grain is here meant.

Our men, perceiving the good relation which the Indians made them of those two kings, resolved to go thither; for they felt already the necessity which oppressed them. Therefore they made request unto King Maccou, that it would please him to give them one of his subjects to guide them the right way thither: whereupon he condescended very willingly, knowing, that, without his favor, they should have much ado to bring their enterprise to pass. . . .

Behold, therefore, how our men behaved themselves very well hitherto, although they had endured many great mishaps. But misfortune, or, rather, the just judgment of God, would have it, that those which could not be overcome by fire nor water should be undone by their own selves. . . .

They entered, therefore, into partialities and dissensions, which began about a soldier named Guernache, which was a drummer of the French bands, which, as it was told me, was very cruelly hanged by his own captain,[1] and for a small fault; which captain also using to threaten the rest of his soldiers which staid behind under his obedience, and peradventure, as it is to be presumed, were not so obedient to him as they should have been, was the cause that they fell into a mutiny, because that many times he put his threatenings in execution, whereupon they so chased him, that at the last they put him to death. And the principal occasion that moved them thereunto was because he degraded another soldier named La Chère, which he had banished, and because he had not performed his promise; for he had promised to send him victuals

[1] Captain Albert.

from eight days to eight days,[1] which thing he did not, but said, on the contrary, that he would be glad to hear of his death. He said, moreover, that he would chastise others also, and used so evil sounding speeches, that honesty[2] forbiddeth me to repeat them.

The soldiers, seeing his madness to increase from day to day, and fearing to fall into the dangers of the other, resolved to kill him. Having executed their purpose, they went to seek the soldier that was banished, which was in a small island distant from Charlesfort about three leagues, where they found him almost half dead for hunger. When they were come home again, they assembled themselves together to choose one to be governor over them, whose name was Nicolas Barré, a man worthy of commendation, and one which knew so well to quit himself of his charge, that all rancor and dissension ceased among them, and they lived peaceably one with another.

During this time they began to build a small pinnace, with hope to return into France, if no succor came unto them, as they expected from day to day. And though there were no man among them that had any skill, notwithstanding, necessity, which is the mistress of all sciences, taught them the way to build it. After that it was finished, they thought of nothing else, save how to furnish it with all things necessary to undertake the voyage. But they wanted those things that of all other were most needful, as cordage and sails, without which the enterprise could not come to effect. Having no means to recover these things, they were in worse case than at the first, and almost ready to fall into

[1] i.e., from week to week. [2] Propriety.

despair; but that good God, which never forsaketh the afflicted, did succor them in their necessity.

As they were in these perplexities, King Audusta and Maccou came to them, accompanied with two hundred Indians, at the least, whom our Frenchmen went forth to meet withal, and showed the king in what need of cordage they stood; who promised them to return within two days, and to bring so much as should suffice to furnish the pinnace with tackling. Our men, being pleased with these good news and promises, bestowed upon them certain cutting-hooks and shirts. After their departure, our men sought all means to recover resin in the woods, wherein they cut the pine-trees found about, out of which they drew sufficient reasonable quantity to bray[1] the vessel. Also they gathered a kind of moss which groweth on the trees of this country, to serve to calk the same withal.

There now wanted nothing but sails, which they made of their own shirts and of their sheets. Within few days after, the Indian kings returned to Charlesfort with so good store of cordage, that there was found sufficient for tackling of the small pinnace. Our men, as glad as might be, used great liberality towards them, and, at their leaving of the country, left them all the merchandise that remained, leaving them thereby so fully satisfied, that they departed from them with all the contentation[2] of the world. They went forward, therefore, to finish the brigantine, and used so speedy diligence, that, within a short time afterward, they made it ready furnished with all things. In the mean season the wind came so fit for their purpose, that it seemed

[1] Tar. [2] Content.

to invite them to put to the sea ; which they did without delay, after they had set all their things in order.

But, before they departed, they embarked their artillery, their forge, and other munitions of war which Capt. Ribaut had left them, and then as much mill as they could gather together. But being drunken with the too excessive joy which they had conceived for their returning into France, or, rather, deprived of all foresight and consideration, without regarding the inconstancy of the winds, which change in a moment, they put themselves to sea, and with so slender victuals, that the end of their enterprise became unlucky and unfortunate.

For, after they had sailed the third part of their way, they were surprised with calms, which did so much hinder them, that in three weeks they sailed not above five and twenty leagues. During this time, their victuals consumed, and became so short, that every man was constrained to eat not past twelve grains of mill by the day, which may be in value as much as twelve peas. Yea, and this felicity lasted not long ; for their victuals failed them altogether at once, and they had nothing for their more assured refuge, but their shoes and leather jerkins, which they did eat. . . .

Beside this extreme famine, which did so grievously oppress them, they fell every minute of an hour out of all hope ever to see France again, insomuch that they were constrained to cast the water continually out, that on all sides entered into their bark. And every day they fared worse and worse ; for, after they had eaten up their shoes and leather jerkins, there arose so boisterous a wind, and so contrary to their course, that, in

the turning of a hand, the waves filled their vessel half full of water, and bruised it upon the one side. Being now more out of hope than ever to escape out of this extreme peril, they cared not for casting out of the water, which now was almost ready to drown them. And, as men resolved to die, every one fell down backward, and gave themselves over altogether unto the will of the waves. When as one of them, a little having taken heart unto him, declared unto them how little way they had to sail, assuring them, that, if the wind held, they should see land within three days, this man did so encourage them, that, after they had thrown the water out of the pinnace, they remained three days without eating or drinking, except it were of the sea-water. When the time of his promise was expired, they were more troubled than they were before, seeing they could not descry any land. . . .

After so long and tedious travels, God, of his goodness, using his accustomed favor, changed their sorrow into joy, and showed unto them the sight of land. Whereof they were so exceeding glad, that the pleasure caused them to remain a long time as men without sense; whereby they let the pinnace float this and that way, without holding any right way or course. But a small English bark boarded the vessel, in the which there was a Frenchman which had been in the first voyage into Florida, who easily knew them, and spake unto them, and afterward gave them meat and drink. Incontinently they recovered their natural courages, and declared unto him at large all their navigation. The Englishmen consulted a long time what were best to be done; and in fine they resolved to put on land those

that were most feeble, and to carry the rest unto the Queen of England, which purposed at that time to send into Florida.

[They finally reached England, having doubtless made the first voyage across the Atlantic ever accomplished in an American-built vessel.]

III. — Laudonniere's Search for the Colonists.

[Laudonnière sailed with three ships, April 22, 1564, on an expedition in search of the men whom Ribaut had left at Port Royal nearly two years before. He reached the St. John's River a little more than two months later.]

The second voyage into Florida, made and written by Capt. Laudonnière, which fortified and inhabited there two summers and one whole winter. . . .

The next day, the 23d of this month,[1] — because that toward the south I had not found any commodious place for us to inhabit, and to build a fort, — I gave commandment to weigh anchor, and to hoist our sails to sail toward the River of May,[2] where we arrived two days after, and cast anchor. Afterward going on land with some number of gentlemen and soldiers, to know for a certainty the singularities of this place, we espied the *paracoussey*[3] of the country, which came towards us, — this was the very same that we saw in the voyage of Capt. John Ribaut. Which, having espied us, cried very far off, "*Antipola, antipola!*" And, being so joyful that he could not contain himself, he came to meet us, accompanied with two of his sons, as fair and mighty

[1] June. [2] St. John's River. [3] Chief.

RIBAUT'S PILLAR DECORATED BY INDIANS.

(From a design by Lemoyne, one of Laudonniere's companions.) Page 157.

persons as might be found in all the world, which had nothing in their mouths but this word, "*Ami, ami;*" that is to say, "Friend, friend!" Yea; and, knowing those which were there in the first voyage, they went principally to them to use this speech unto them. There was in their train a great number of men and women, which still made very much of us, and by evident signs made us understand how glad they were of our arrival. This good entertainment passed, the *paracoussey* prayed me to go see the pillar which we had erected in the voyage of John Ribaut — as we have declared heretofore — as a thing which they made great account of.

Having yielded unto him, and being come to the place where it was set up, we found the same crowned with crowns of bay, and at the foot thereof many little baskets full of mill,[1] which they call in their language *tapaga tapola*. Then, when they came thither, they kissed the same with great reverence, and besought us to do the like, which we would not deny them, to the end we might draw them to be more in friendship with us. This done, the *paracoussey* took me by the hand, as if he had desire to make me understand some great secret, and by signs showed me very well up within the river the limits of his dominion, and said that he was called *Paracoussey* Satouriona, which is as much as King Satouriona. His children have the selfsame title of *paracoussey*. The eldest is named Athore, — a man, I dare say, perfect in wisdom, beauty, and honest sobriety; showing by his modest gravity that he deserveth the name which he beareth, besides

[1] Grain of some kind.

that he is gentle and tractable. After we had sojourned a certain space with them, the *paracoussey* prayed one of his sons to present unto me a wedge of silver, which he did, and that with a good will; in recompense whereof I gave him a cutting-hook and some other better present, wherewith he seemed to be very well pleased. Afterward we took our leave of them, because the night approached, and then returned to lodge in our ships.

Being allured with this good entertainment, I failed not the next day to embark myself again with my lieutenant, Ottigny, and a number of soldiers, to return toward the *paracoussey* of the River of May, which of purpose waited for us in the same place where, the day before, we conferred with him. We found him under the shadow of an arbor, accompanied with fourscore Indians at the least, and apparelled at that time after the Indian fashion; to wit, with a great hart's skin dressed like chamois, and painted with devices of strange and divers colors, but of so lively a portraiture, and representing antiquity with rules so justly compassed, that there is no painter so exquisite that could find fault therewith. The natural disposition of this strange people is so perfect and well guided, that, without any aid and favor of arts, they are able, by the help of Nature only, to content the artisans,[1] yea, even of those which by their industry are able to aspire unto things most absolute.

Then I advertised *Paracoussey* Satouriona that my desire was to discover farther up into the river, but that it should be with such diligence that I would come

[1] i.e., to satisfy skilful workmen.

again unto him very speedily ; wherewith he was content, promising to stay for me in the place where he was ; and, for an earnest of his promise, he offered me his goodly skin, which I refused then, and promised to receive it of him at my return. For my part, I gave him certain small trifles, to the intent to retain him in our friendship.

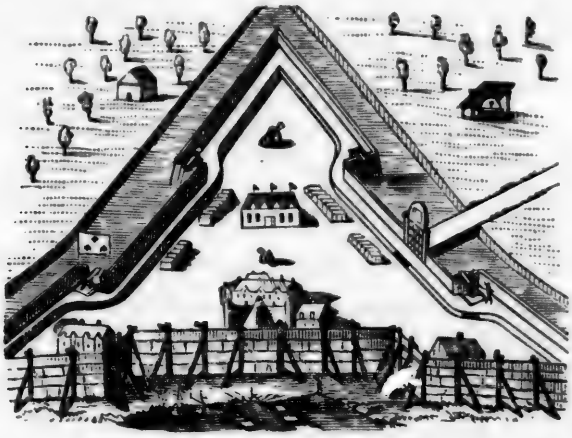
IV. — The Capture of Fort Caroline by the Spaniards.

[Laudonnière built a fort on the St. John's River, just above St. John's Bluff, and named it Fort Caroline, but partly destroyed it, meaning to build vessels with the materials. Don Pedro Menendez came to the Florida coast with a Spanish fleet, and founded the town of St. Augustine. Ribaut took most of Laudonnière's soldiers, with his ships, and went to attack the ships of Menendez. Meanwhile the Spaniards marched by land, five hundred in number, through swamps and across streams, guided by a French deserter, to attack the fort. Laudonnière thus describes what took place after Ribaut's departure.]

The very day that he departed, which was the 10th of September,[1] there rose so great a tempest, accompanied with such storms, that the Indians themselves assured me that it was the worst weather that ever was seen on the coast. Whereupon, two or three days after, fearing lest our ships might be in some distress, I sent for Monsieur Du Lys unto me, to take order to assemble the rest of our people to declare unto them what need we had to fortify ourselves ; which was done accordingly. And then I gave them to understand the necessity and inconvenience whereinto we were like to fall, as well by the absence of our ships, as by the

[1] 1565.

nearness of the Spaniards, at whose hands we could look for no less than an open and sufficient proclaimed war, seeing they had taken land, and fortified themselves so near unto us. And, if any misfortune were fallen unto our men which were at sea, we ought to make full account with ourselves that we were to endure many great miseries, being in so small number, and so many ways afflicted as we were.



FORT CAROLINE.

Thus every one promised me to take pains; and therefore, considering that their proportion of victuals was small, and that, so continuing, they would not be able to do any great work, I augmented their allowance; although that after the arrival of Captain Ribaut my portion of victuals was allotted unto me as unto one soldier, neither was I able to give so much as part of a bottle of wine to any man which desired. For I was so far from having means to do so that the captain himself took two of my boats where the rest of the meal was, which was left me of the fruits which I caused to be made to return

nto France. So that, if I should say that I received more favor at the hands of the Englishmen[1] being strangers unto me, I should say but a truth. We began, therefore, to fortify ourselves, and to repair that which was broken down, principally toward the water-side, where I caused threescore foot of trees to be planted, to repair the palisade with the planks which I caused to be taken of the ship which I had builded. Nevertheless, notwithstanding all our diligence and travail, we were never able fully to repair it, by reason of the storms, which commonly did us so great annoy, that we could not finish our enclosure.

Perceiving myself in such extremity, I took a muster of the men which Captain Ribaut had left me, to see if there were any that wanted weapon. I found nine or ten of them, whereof not past two or three had ever drawn sword out of a scabbard, as I think. Let them which have been bold to say that I had men enough left me, so that I had means to defend myself, give ear a little now unto me, and, if they have eyes in their heads, let them see what men I had. Of the nine, there were four but young striplings, which served Captain Ribaut, and kept his dogs: the fifth was a cook. Among those that were without the fort, and which were of the foresaid company of Captain Ribaut, there was a carpenter of threescore years old, one a beer-brewer, one old crossbow-maker, two shoemakers, and four or five men that had their wives, a player on the virginals,[2] two servants of Monsieur Du Lys, one of Monsieur De Beauhaire, one of Monsieur

[1] Captain John Hawkins, who had lately supplied the garrison with food.

[2] A musical instrument.

De la Grange; and about fourscore and five or six in all, counting as well lackeys as women and children.

Behold the goodly troop so sufficient to defend themselves, and so courageous as they have esteemed them to be! And, for my part, I leave it to others' consideration to imagine whether Captain Ribaut would have left them with me to have borrowed my men, if they had been such. Those that were left me of mine own company were about sixteen or seventeen that could bear arms, and all of them poor and lean: the rest were sick and maimed in the conflict which my lieutenant had against Utina.

This view being thus taken, we set our watches, whereof we made two sentinels, that the soldiers might have one night free. Then we bethought ourselves of those which might be most sufficient, among whom we chose two, one of whom was named Monsieur Saint Cler, and the other Monsieur De la Vigne, to whom we delivered candles and lanterns to go round about the fort to view the watch, because of the foul and foggy weather. I delivered them also a sand-glass or clock,[1] that the sentinels might not be troubled more one than another. In the mean while, I ceased not, for all the foul weather, nor my sickness which I had, to oversee the *corps de garde*.[2]

The night between the 19th and 20th of September, La Vigne kept watch with his company, wherein he used all endeavor, although it rained without ceasing. When the day was therefore come, and that he saw that it rained still worse than it did before, he pitied the sentinels, so too [much] moyled[3] and wet. And, think-

[1] Hour-glass. [2] Guard. [3] Muddied.

ing the Spaniards would not have come in such a strange time, he let them depart, and, to say the truth, he himself went unto his lodging.

In the mean while, one which had something to do without the fort, and my trumpet,[1] which went up unto the rampart, perceived a troop of Spaniards which came down from a little knappe,[2] where incontinently they began to cry alarm, and the trumpeter also; which as soon as ever I understood, forthwith I issued out, with my target and sword in my hand, and gat me in the midst of the court, where I began to cry upon my soldiers.

Some of them, which were of the forward sort, went toward the breach, which was on the south side, and where the munitions of the artillery lay, where they were repulsed and slain. By the selfsame place two ensigns[3] entered, which immediately were planted on the walls. Two other ensigns also entered on the other side toward the west, where there was another breach; and those which were lodged in this quarter, and which showed themselves, were likewise defeated. As I went to succor them which were defending the breach on the south-west side, I encountered, by chance, a great company of Spaniards, which had already repulsed our men, and were now entered, which drove me back unto the court of the fort. Being there, I espied with them one called Francis Jean, which was one of the mariners which stole away my barks, and had guided and conducted the Spaniards thither. As soon as he saw me, he began to say, "This is the captain."

[1] Trumpeter. [2] Knob or hill. [3] Flags.

This troop was led by a captain, whose name, as I think, was Don Pedro Menendez. These made certain pushes at me with their pikes, which lighted on my target. But perceiving that I was not able to withstand so great a company, and that the court was already won, and their ensigns planted on the ramparts, and that I had never a man about me, saving one only, whose name was Bartholomew, I entered into the yard of my lodging, into which they followed me; and, had it not been for a tent that was set up, I had been taken. But the Spaniards which followed me were occupied in cutting off the cords of the tent; and, in the mean while, I saved myself by the breach which was on the west side, near unto my lieutenant's lodging, and got away into the woods, where I found certain of my men which had escaped, of which number there were three or four which were sore hurt.

MENENDEZ.

Then spake I thus unto them, "Sirs, since it hath pleased God that this mischance is happened unto us, we must needs take the pains to get over the marshes unto the ships, which are at the mouth of the river." Some would needs go to a little village which was in the woods: the rest followed me through the reeds in the water; where, being able to go no farther, by reason of my sickness which I had, I sent two of my men which were with me, which could swim well, unto the ships, to advertise them of that which had happened,

and to send them word to come and help me. They were not able that day to get unto the ships to certify them thereof: so I was constrained to stand in the water up to my shoulders all that night long, with one of my men which would never forsake me.

The next day morning, being scarcely able to draw my breath any more, I betook me to my prayers, with the soldier which was with me, whose name was John du Chemin; for I felt myself so feeble, that I was afraid I should die suddenly. And in truth, if he had not embraced me in both his arms, and so held me up, it had not been possible to save me. After we had made an end of our prayers, I heard a voice, which, in my judgment, was one of theirs which I had sent, which were over against the ships, and called for the ship-boat; which was so indeed. And because those of the ships had understanding of the taking of the fort by one called John de Hais, master carpenter, which fled unto them in a shallop, they had set sail to run along the coast, to see if they might save any: wherein, doubtless, they did very well their endeavor. They went straight to the place where the two men were which I had sent, and which called them.

As soon as they had received them in, and understood where I was, they came and found me in a pitiful case. Five or six of them took me, and carried me into the shallop; for I was not able by any means to go on foot. After I was brought into the shallop, some of the mariners took their clothes from their backs to lend them me, and would have carried me presently to their ships to give me a little *aqua vitae*.[1] Howbeit I

[1] Brandy.

would not go thither until I had first gone with the boat along the reeds to seek out the poor souls which were scattered abroad, where we gathered up eighteen or twenty of them. The last that I took in was the nephew of the treasurer, Le Beau. After we were all come to the ships, I comforted them as well as I could, and sent back the boat again with speed, to see if they could find yet any more.

For mine own part, I will not accuse nor excuse any: it sufficeth me to have followed the truth of the history, whereof many are able to bear witness which were there present. I will plainly say one thing, that the long delay that Captain John Ribaut used in his embarking, and the fifteen days that he spent in roving along the coast of Florida before he came to our Fort Caroline, were the cause of the loss that we sustained. For he discerned the coast the 15th of August, and spent the time in going from river to river, which had been sufficient for him to have discharged his ships in, and for me to have embarked myself, to return into France. . . .

He was no sooner departed from us than a tempest took him, which, in fine, wrecked him upon the coast, where all his ships were cast away, and he with much ado escaped drowning, to fall into their hands, which cruelly massacred him and all his company.

[The fate of Ribaut at the hands of Menendez, and the terrible vengeance taken on the Spaniards by another Frenchman, Dominic de Gourgues, may be found described in Parkman's interesting book, "Pioneers of France in the New World."]

BOOK VIII.

SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT.

(A.D. 1583.)

Eastward from Campobello
  Sir Humphrey Gilbert sailed:
Three days or more seaward he bore,
  Then, alas! the land-wind failed.

Alas! the land-wind failed,
  And ice-cold grew the night;
And nevermore, on sea or shore,
  Should Sir Humphrey see the light.

He sat upon the deck,
  The Book was in his hand:
"Do not fear! Heaven is as near,"
  He said, "by water as by land!"

In the first watch of the night,
  Without a signal's sound,
Out of the sea, mysteriously,
  The fleet of Death rose all around.

The moon and the evening star
  Were hanging in the shrouds;
Every mast, as it passed,
  Seemed to rake the passing clouds.

They grappled with their prize,
  At midnight black and cold:
As of a rock was the shock;
  Heavily the ground-swell rolled.

LONGFELLOW.

SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT.

The Death of Sir Humphrey Gilbert.

[Sir Humphrey Gilbert sailed from England for Newfoundland with a fleet of five vessels. The largest of these (two hundred tons), fitted out by Sir Walter Raleigh, soon returned to England; the next in size was lost; and the three others were the "Golden Hind," forty tons; the "Swallow," of the same size; and the "Squirrel," of only ten tons, — merely a sail-boat. The loss of their largest vessel, or "admiral," discouraged the crews very much; and they finally insisted on returning, as appears in the narrative which follows. The original account is in Hakluyt's Voyages (edition of 1810), vol. iii. p. 199.]

OUR people lost courage daily after this ill-success, the weather continuing thick and blustering, with increase of cold, winter drawing on, which took from them all hope of amendment, settling an assurance of worse weather to grow upon us every day. The lee-side[1] of us lay full of flats and dangers inevitable, if the wind blew hard at south. Some, again, doubted[2] we were ingulfed in the Bay of St. Lawrence, the coast full of dangers, and unto us unknown. But, above all, provision waxed scant, and hope of supply was gone with loss of our admiral.[3]

[1] i.e., the north side, if the wind was south.
[2] Suspected. [3] The "Delight," the flag-ship.

Those in the frigate[1] were already pinched with spare allowance, and want of clothes chiefly. Whereupon they besought the general[2] to return for England before they all perished. And to them of the "Golden Hind" they made signs of their distress, pointing to their mouths, and to their clothes thin and ragged. Then immediately they also of the "Golden Hind" grew to be of the same opinion, and desire to return home.

The former reasons having also moved the general to have compassion of his poor men, in whom he saw no want of good-will, but of means fit to perform the action they came for, [he] resolved upon retire;[3] and, calling the captain and master of the "Hind," he yielded them many reasons enforcing this unexpected return, withal protesting himself greatly satisfied with that he had seen and knew already.

Reiterating these words, "Be content: we have seen enough, and take no care of expense past. I will set you forth royally the next spring, if God send us safe home. Therefore, I pray you, let us no longer strive here, where we fight against the elements." . . .

How unwillingly the captain and master of the "Hind" conceded to this motion, his own company can testify; yet comforted with the general's promise of a speedy return at spring, and induced by other apparent reasons proving an impossibility to accomplish the action at that time, it was concluded on all hands to retire.

[1] The "Squirrel." The name "frigate" was first given to a kind of boat still used in the Mediterranean, propelled by both sails and oars. It was afterwards given to a war vessel, built also for speed.

[2] Sir Humphrey Gilbert. [3] i.e., to retire.

So, upon Saturday, in the afternoon, the 31st of August, we changed our course, and returned back for England, at which very instant, even in winding about, there passed along between us and the land which we now forsook, a very lion, to our seeming, in shape, hair, and color; not swimming after the manner of a beast, by moving of his feet, but rather sliding upon the water with his whole body — not excepting the legs — in sight; neither yet diving under, and again rising above the water, as the manner is of whales, dolphins, tunnies, porpoises, and all other fish, but confidently showing himself above water without hiding, notwithstanding we presented ourselves in open view and gestures to amaze him, as all creatures will be commonly at a sudden gaze and sight of men. Thus he passed along, turning his head to and fro, yawning and gaping wide, with ugly demonstration of long teeth and glaring eyes; and to bid us a farewell, coming right against the "Hind," he sent forth a horrible voice, roaring or bellowing as doth a lion; which spectacle we all beheld so far as we were able to discern the same, as men prone to wonder at every strange thing, as this doubtless was, to see a lion in the ocean sea, or fish in the shape of a lion. What opinion others had thereof, and chiefly the general himself, I forbear to deliver; but he took it for *bonum omen*,[1] rejoicing that he was to war against such an enemy, if it were the devil. . . .

Leaving the issue of this good hope unto God, who knoweth the truth only, and can at his good pleasure bring the same to light, I will hasten to the end of this tragedy, which must be knit up in the person of our

[1] A good omen. This was probably a large seal, or sea-lion.

general. And as it was God's ordinance upon him, even so the vehement persuasion and entreaty of his friends could nothing avail to divert him from a wilful resolution of going through in his frigate, which was overcharged upon the decks with fights,[1] nettings, and small artillery, too cumbersome for so small a boat that was to pass through the ocean sea at that season of the year, when by course we might expect much storm of foul weather, whereof indeed we had enough.

But when he was entreated by the captain, master, and other his well-willers of the "Hind," not to venture in the frigate, this was his answer: "I will not forsake my little company going homeward, with whom I have passed so many storms and perils." And in very truth he was urged to be so over hard by hard reports given of him that he was afraid of the sea; albeit this was rather rashness, than advised resolution, to prefer the wind of a vain report to the weight of his own life. Seeing he would not bend to reason, he had provision out of the "Hind" such as was wanting aboard his frigate. And so we committed him to God's protection to set him aboard his pinnace; we being more than three hundred leagues onward of our way home.

By that time, we had brought the islands of Azores south of us, yet we then keeping much to the north until we had got into the height and elevation of England, met with very foul weather, and terrible seas, breaking short and high, pyramid-wise. The reason whereof seemed to proceed either of hilly grounds, high and low, within the sea, — as we see hills and dales upon the land, — upon which the seas do mount and fall; or

[1] Warlike preparations.

else the cause proceedeth of diversity of winds, shifting often in sundry points: all which having power together to move the great ocean, which again is not presently settled, so many seas do encounter together as there had been diversity of winds. Howsoever it cometh to pass, men which all their lifetime had occupied the sea never saw more outrageous seas. We had also upon our mainyard an apparition of a little fire by night, which seamen do call Castor and Pollux;[1] but we had only one, which they take an evil sign of more tempest: the same is usual in storms.

Monday, the 9th of September, in the afternoon, the frigate was near cast away, oppressed by waves; yet at that time recovered, and giving forth signs of joy, the general, sitting abaft, with a book in his hand, cried out to us in the "Hind," — so oft as we did approach within hearing, — "We are as near to heaven by sea as by land," reiterating the same speech, well beseeming a soldier resolute in Jesus Christ, as I can testify he was.

The same Monday night, about twelve of the clock, or not long after, the frigate being ahead of us in the "Golden Hind," suddenly her lights were out, whereof, as it were in a moment, we lost the sight; and withal our watch cried [that] the general was cast away, which was too true; for in that moment the frigate was devoured and swallowed up of the sea. . . .

Thus have I delivered the contents of the enterprise and last action of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, Knight, faithfully, for so much as I thought meet to be published; wherein may always appear, though he be extinguished, some sparks of his virtue; he remaining firm

[1] This electric light is often called "St. Elmo's fire."

and resolute in a purpose, by all pretence honest and godly as was this, to discover, possess, and to reduce unto the service of God and Christian piety, those remote and heathen countries of America not actually possessed by Christians, and most rightly appertaining unto the crown of England.

BOOK IX.

THE LOST COLONIES OF VIRGINIA.

(A.D. 1584–1590.)

These extracts from the early Virginia narratives may be found in Hakluyt's Voyages (ed. 1810), vol. iii. pp. 301–305, 323, 340–346, 354–355.

THE LOST COLONIES OF VIRGINIA.

I. — The First Voyage to Virginia.

THE first voyage made to the coasts of America, with two barks, wherein were Captains M. Philip Amadas and M. Arthur Barlowe, who discovered part of the country now called Virginia, Anno 1584. Written by one of the said captains, and sent to Sir Walter Raleigh Knight, at whose charge and direction the said voyage was set forth.

The twenty-seventh day of April, in the year of our redemption,[1] 1584, we departed [from] the west of England, with two barks well furnished with men and victuals, having received our last and perfect directions by your letters, confirming the former instructions and commandments, delivered by yourself at our leaving the River of Thames. . . .

The 2d of July we found shoal water, where we smelt so sweet and so strong a smell, as if we had been in the midst of some delicate garden abounding with all kind of odoriferous flowers, by which we were assured that the land could not be far distant. And

[1] Anno Domini.

keeping good watch, and bearing but slack sail, the 4th of the same month we arrived upon the coast, which we supposed to be a continent and firm land; and we sailed along the same a hundred and twenty English miles before we could find any entrance or river issuing into the sea. The first that appeared unto us, we entered, though not without some difficulty, and cast anchor about three arquebuse-shot within the haven's mouth on the left-hand of the same. And, after thanks given to God for our safe arrival thither, we manned our boats, and went to view the land next adjoining, and "to take possession of the same in the right of the Queen's most excellent Majesty, as rightful queen and princess of the same," and after[1] delivered the same over to your use, according to her Majesty's grant, and letters-patent, under her Highness' great seal. . . .

We passed from the seaside towards the tops of those hills next adjoining, being but of mean height; and from thence we beheld the sea on both sides to the north, and to the south, finding no end any of both ways. This land lay stretching itself to the west, which after we found to be but an island of twenty miles long, and not about six miles broad.[2] Under the bank or hill whereon we stood, we beheld the valleys replenished with goodly cedar-trees; and, having discharged our arquebuse-shot, such a flock of cranes — the most part white — arose under us, with such a cry, redoubled by many echoes, as if an army of men had shouted all together.

[1] Afterwards.

[2] This was one of the islands on the North Carolina coast, probably Portsmouth Island.

We remained by the side of this island two whole days before we saw any people of the country. The third day we espied one small boat rowing towards us, having in it three persons. This boat came to the island side, four arquebuse-shot from our ships; and there, two of the people remaining, the third came along the shore-side toward us; and we, being then all within board,[1] he walked up and down upon the point of land next unto us. Then the master and pilot of the admiral,[2] Simon Ferdinando, and the captain, Philip Amadas, myself, and others, rowed to the land, whose coming this fellow attended, never making any show of fear or doubt. And, after he had spoken of many things not understood by us, we brought him, with his own good liking, aboard the ships, and gave him a shirt, a hat, and some other things, and made him taste of our wine and our meat, which he liked very well; and, after having viewed both barks, he departed, and went to his own boat again, which he had left in a little cove or creek adjoining. Soon as he was two bow-shot into the water, he fell to fishing; and in less than half an hour he had laden his boat as deep as it could swim, with which he came again to the point of the land; and there he divided his fish into two parts, pointing[3] one part to the ship, and the other to the pinnace; which after he had, as much as he might, requited the former benefits received, departed out of our sight.

The next day, there came unto us divers boats, and in one of them the king's brother, accompanied with forty or fifty men, very handsome and goodly people, and in their behavior as mannerly and civil as any of

[1] On board. [2] Flag-ship. [3] Appointing, or assigning.

Europe. His name was Granganimeo, and the king is called Wingina; the country, Wingandacoa; and now, by her Majesty, Virginia. The manner of his coming was in this sort: he left his boats all together, as the first man did, a little from the ships by the shore, and came along to the place over against the ships, followed with forty men. When he came to the place, his servants spread a long mat upon the ground, on which he sat down; and at the other end of the mat four others of his company did the like: the rest of his men stood round about him somewhat afar off. When we came to the shore to him with our weapons, he never moved from his place, nor any of the other four, nor never mistrusted any harm to be offered from us; but, sitting still, he beckoned us to come and sit by him, which we performed; and, being set, he made all signs of joy and welcome, striking on his head and his breast, and afterwards on ours, to show we all were one, smiling and making show, the best he could, of all love and familiarity. After he had made a long speech unto us, we presented him with divers things, which he received very joyfully and thankfully. None of the company durst speak one word all the time: only the four which were at the other end spoke one in the other's ear very softly.

A day or two after this, we fell to trading with them, exchanging some things that we had for chamois, buff, and deer skins. When we showed him[1] all our packet of merchandise, of all things that he saw, a bright tin dish most pleased him, which he presently took up, and clapped it before his breast, and, after,

[1] The king.

made a hole in the brim thereof, and hung it about his neck, making signs that it would defend him against his enemies' arrows; for these people maintain a deadly and terrible war with the people and king adjoining. We exchanged our tin dish for twenty skins, worth twenty crowns, or twenty nobles; and a copper kettle for fifty skins, worth fifty crowns. They offered us good exchange for our hatchets and axes and for knives, and would have given any thing for swords; but we would not depart[1] with any.

After two or three days, the king's brother came aboard the ships, and drank wine, and ate of our meat and our bread, and liked exceedingly thereof; and, after a few days overpassed, he brought his wife with him to the ships, his daughter, and two or three children. His wife was very well favored, of mean stature, and very bashful. She had on her back a long cloak of leather, with the fur side next to her body, and before her a piece of the same; about her forehead she had a band of white coral, and so had her husband many times; in her ears she had bracelets of pearl hanging down to her middle, — whereof we delivered your Worship a little bracelet, — and those were of the bigness of good peas. The rest [illegible] of the better sort had pendants of copper hanging in either ear; and some of the children of the king's brother, and other noblemen, have five or six in either ear. He himself had upon his head a broad plate of gold, or copper; for, being unpolished, we knew not what metal it should be; neither would he by any means suffer us to take it off his head; but feeling it, it would bow[2] very easily.

[1] Part. [2] Bend.

His apparel was as his wife's; only the women wear their hair long on both sides, and the men but on one. They are of color yellowish, and their hair black, for the most part; and yet we saw children that had very fine auburn and chestnut colored hair.

After that these women had been there, there came down from all parts great store of people, bringing with them leather, coral, divers kind of dyes, very excellent, and exchanged with us. But when Granganimeo, the king's brother, was present, none durst trade but himself, except such as wear red pieces of copper on their heads like himself; for that is the difference between the noblemen and the governors of countries, and the meaner sort. And we both noted there, and you have understood since by these men which we brought home, that no people in the world carry more respect to their king, nobility, and governors, than these do. The king's brother's wife, when she came to us, — as she did many times, — was followed with forty or fifty women always; and, when she came into the ship, she left them all on land, saving her two daughters, her nurse, and one or two more. The king's brother always kept this order: as many boats as he would come withal to the ships, so many fires would he make on the shore afar off, to the end we might understand with what strength and company he approached.

Their boats are made of one tree, either of pine or of pitch trees, a wood not commonly known to our people, nor found growing in England. They have no edge-tools to make them withal: if they have any, they are very few, and those it seems they had twenty years since, which, as those two men declared, was out

of a wreck, which happened upon their coast, of some Christian ship, being beaten that way by some storm and outrageous weather, whereof none of the people were saved, but only the ship, or some part of her, being cast upon the sand, out of whose sides they drew the nails and the spikes, and with those they made their best instruments.

The manner of making their boats is thus: they burn down some great tree, or take such as are windfallen, and, putting gum and resin upon one side thereof, they set fire into it, and, when it hath burned it hollow, they cut out the coal with their shells, and ever, where they would burn it deeper or wider, they lay on gums which burn away the timber; and by this means they fashion very fine boats, and such as will transport twenty men.[1] Their oars are like scoops; and many times they set[2] with long poles, as the depth serveth.

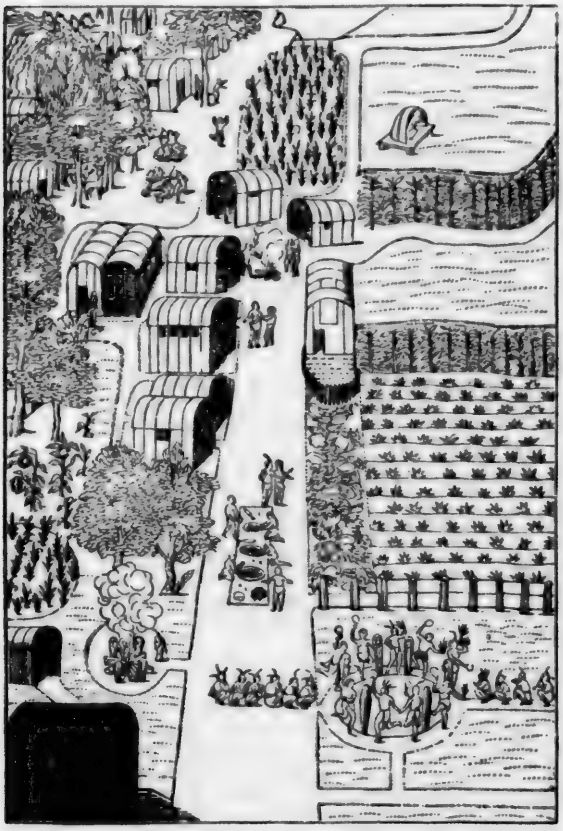
The king's brother had great liking of our armor, a sword, and divers other things which we had, and offered to lay a great box of pearls in gage[3] for them; but we refused it for this time, because we would not make them know that we esteemed thereof, until we had understood in what places of the country the pearl grew; which now your Worship doth very well understand.

He was very just of his promise, for many times we delivered him merchandise upon his word; but ever he came within the day, and performed his promise. He sent us every day a brace or two of fat bucks, conies, hares, fish, the best in the world.

[1] See the woodcut on page 65. [2] Push. [3] Pledge.

II. — Visit to an Indian Princess.

The evening following, we came to an island, which they call Roanoke, distant from the harbor by which we entered seven leagues; and at the north end thereof was a village of nine houses, built of cedar, and fortified round about with sharp trees, to keep out their enemies, and the entrance into it made like a turnpike very artificially. When we came towards it, standing near unto the water's side, the wife of Granganimeo, the king's brother, came running out to meet us, very cheerfully and friendly: her husband was not then in the village. Some of her people she commanded to draw our boat on shore, for the beating of the billow: others she appointed to carry us on their backs to the dry ground; and others to bring our oars into the house, for fear of stealing. When we were come into the outer



INDIAN VILLAGE IN VIRGINIA.

room, — having five rooms in her house, — she caused us to sit down by a great fire, and after took off our clothes, and washed them, and dried them again. Some of the women plucked off our stockings, and washed them: some washed our feet in warm water; and she herself took great pains to see all things ordered in the best manner she could, making great haste to dress some meat for us to eat.

After we had thus dried ourselves, she brought us into the inner room, where she set on the board standing along the house some wheat like frumenty,[1] sodden[2] venison and roasted, fish sodden, boiled, and roasted, melons raw and sodden, roots of divers kinds, and divers fruits. Their drink is commonly water; but, while the grape lasteth, they drink wine: and, for want of casks to keep it, all the year after they drink water, but it is sodden, with ginger in it, and black cinnamon, and sometimes sassafras, and divers other wholesome and medicinal herbs and trees. We were entertained with all love and kindness, and with as much bounty, after their manner, as they could possibly devise. We found the people most gentle, loving, and faithful, void of all guile and treason, and such as live after the manner of the golden age. The people only care how to defend themselves from the cold in their short winter, and to feed themselves with such meat as the soil affordeth. Their meat is very well sodden, and they make broth very sweet and savory. Their vessels are earthen pots, very large, white, and sweet: their dishes are wooden platters of sweet timber. Within the place where they feed was their lodging, and within that their idol which

[1] Wheat boiled in milk. [2] Boiled.

they worship, of whom they speak incredible things. While we were at meat, there came in at the gates two or three men, with their bows and arrows, from hunting, whom when we espied, we began to look one towards another, and offered to reach our weapons. But, as soon as she[1] espied our mistrust, she was very much moved, and caused some of her men to run out, and take away their bows and arrows, and break them, and, withal, beat the poor fellows out of the gate again. When we departed in the evening, and would not tarry all night, she was very sorry, and gave us into our boat our supper half dressed, pots and all, and brought us to our boat-side, in which we lay all night, removing the same a pretty distance from the shore. She, perceiving our jealousy,[2] was much grieved, and sent divers men and thirty women to sit all night on the bank-side by us, and sent us into our boats five mats to cover us from the rain, using very many words to entreat us to remain in their houses. But because we were few men, and if we had miscarried, the voyage had been in very great danger, we durst not adventure on any thing, although there was no cause of doubt; for a more kind and loving people there cannot be found in the world, as far as we have hitherto had trial.

III. — Adventures of the First Virginia Colony.

In the year of our Lord 1586, Sir Walter Raleigh, at his own charge, prepared a ship of an hundred tons, freighted with all manner of things in most plentiful

[1] Their hostess. [2] Suspicion.

manner, for the supply and relief of his colony then remaining in Virginia. But, before they set sail from England, it was after Easter: so that our colony half despaired of the coming of any supply; wherefore every man prepared for himself, determining resolutely to spend the residue of their life in that country. And, for the better performance of this their determination, they sowed, planted, and set such things as were necessary for their relief in so plentiful a manner as might have sufficed them two years, without any further labor. Thus, trusting to their own harvest, they passed the summer till the 10th of June, at which time their corn which they had sowed was within one fortnight of reaping; but then it happened that Sir Francis Drake, in his prosperous return from the sacking of Saint Domingo, Cartagena, and Saint Augustine, determined, in his way homeward, to visit his countrymen, the English colony then remaining in Virginia. So, passing along the coasts of Florida, he fell with[1] the parts where our English colony inhabited; and, having espied some of that company, there he anchored, and went a-land,[2] where he conferred with them of their state and welfare, and how things had passed with them.

They answered him that they lived all, but hitherto in some scarcity, and as yet could hear of no supply out of England: therefore they requested him that he would leave with them some two or three ships, that, if in some reasonable time they heard not out of England, they might then return themselves. Which he agreed to. Whilst some were then writing their letters to send into England, and some others making reports of the

[1] Came to. [2] Ashore.

accidents of their travels each to other, — some on land, some on board, — a great storm arose, and drove most of their fleet from their anchors to sea; in which ships at that instant were the chiefest of the English colony. The rest on land, perceiving this, hasted to those three sails[1] which were appointed to be left there; and, for fear they should be left behind, they left all things confusedly, as if they had been chased from thence by a mighty army. And no doubt so they were; for the hand of God came upon them for the cruelty and outrages committed by some of them against the native inhabitants of that country.

Immediately after the departing of our English colony out of this paradise of the world, the ship above mentioned, sent and set forth at the charges of Sir Walter Raleigh, and his direction, arrived at Hatorask;[2] who, after some time spent in seeking our colony up in the country, and not finding them, returned with all the aforesaid provision into England.

About fourteen or fifteen days after the departure of the aforesaid ship, Sir Richard Grenville, general of Virginia, accompanied with three ships well appointed for the same voyage, arrived there; who, not finding the aforesaid ship, according to his expectation, nor hearing any news of our English colony there seated and left by him Anno[3] 1585, himself travelling up into divers places of the country, as well to see if he could hear any news of the colony left there by him the year

[1] Vessels.

[2] Hatorask is supposed to have been an inlet, now closed, north of Cape Hatteras, on the North Carolina coast.

[3] In the year.

before, under the charge of Master Lane, his deputy, as also to discover some places of the country. But after some time spent therein, not hearing any news of them, and finding the places which they inhabited desolate, yet unwilling to lose the possession of the country which Englishmen had so long held, after good deliberation he determined to leave some men behind to retain possession of the country. Whereupon he landed fifteen men in the Isle of Roanoke, furnished plentifully with all manner of provision for two years, and so departed for England.

IV. — The Second English Colony in Virginia.

In the year of our Lord 1587, Sir Walter Raleigh, intending to persevere in the planting of his country of Virginia, prepared a new colony of one hundred and fifty men to be sent thither, under the charge of John White, whom he appointed governor; and also appointed under him twelve assistants, unto whom he gave a charter, and incorporated them by the name of Governor and Assistants of the City of Raleigh in Virginia.

Our fleet — being in number three sail, viz., the admiral,[1] a ship of one hundred and twenty tons, a flyboat,[2] and a pinnace — departed the six and twentieth of April from Portsmouth, and the same day came to an anchor at the Cowes, in the Isle of Wight, where we staid eight days. . . .

[1] Flag-ship, carrying the commander.

[2] A long, flat-bottomed, Dutch-built vessel.

The two and twentieth of July, we arrived safe at Hatorask, where our ship and pinnace anchored. The governor went aboard the pinnace, accompanied with forty of his best men, intending to pass up to Roanoke forthwith, hoping there to find those fifteen Englishmen which Sir Richard Grenville had left there the year before with whom he meant to have conference concerning the state of the country and savages; meaning, after he had so done, to return again to the fleet, and pass along the coast to the Bay of Chesapeake, where we intended to make our seat and fort, according to the charge given us among other directions in writing, under the hands of Sir Walter Raleigh. But, as soon as we were put with our pinnace from the ship, a gentleman by the name of Ferdinando, who was appointed to return for England, called to the sailors in the pinnace, charging them not to bring any of the planters back again, but to leave them in the island, except the governor, and two or three such as he approved, saying that the summer was far spent, whereupon he would land all the planters in no other place. Unto this were all the sailors, both in the pinnace and ship, persuaded by the master; wherefore it booted not[1] the governor to contend with them, but [we] passed to Roanoke; and the same night at sunset went a-land[2] on the island, in the place where our fifteen men were left: but we found none of them, nor any sign that they had been there, saving only we found the bones of one of those fifteen which the savages had slain long before.

The three and twentieth of July, the governor, with divers of his company, walked to the north end of the

[1] Did not benefit. [2] Ashore.

island, where Master Ralph Lane had his fort, with sundry necessary and decent dwelling-houses, made by his men about it the year before, where we hoped to find some signs or certain knowledge of our fifteen men. When we came thither, we found the fort razed down, but all the houses standing unhurt, saving that the nether rooms of them, and also of the fort, were overgrown with melons of divers sorts, and deer within them feeding on those melons: so we returned to our company, without hope of ever seeing any of the fifteen men living.

The same day, order was given that every man should be employed for the repairing of those houses which we found standing, and also to make other new cottages for such as should need.

The 25th, our flyboat and the rest of our planters arrived all safe at Hatorask, to the great joy and comfort of the whole company. But the master of our admiral,[1] Ferdinando, grieved greatly at their safe coming; for he purposely left them in the Bay of Portugal, and stole away from them in the night, hoping that the master thereof, whose name was Edward Spicer, — for that he never had been in Virginia, — would hardly find the place, or else, being left in so dangerous place as that was, by means of so many men-of-war as at that time were abroad, they should surely be taken, or slain. But God disappointed his wicked pretences.

The 28th, George Howe, one of our twelve assistants, was slain by divers savages which were come over to Roanoke, either of purpose to espy our company, and what number we were, or else to hunt deer, whereof

[1] Flag-ship.

were many in the island. These savages — being secretly hidden among high reeds, where oftentimes they find the deer asleep, and so kill them — espied our man wading in the water alone, almost naked, without any weapon save only a small forked stick, catching crabs therewithal, and also being strayed two miles from his company; and shot at him in the water, where they gave him sixteen wounds with their arrows; and, after they had slain him with their wooden swords, they beat his head in pieces, and fled over the water to the main.

On the 30th of July, Master Stafford and twenty of our men passed by water to the Island of Croatoan,[1] with Manteo, who had his mother and many of his kindred dwelling in that island; of whom we hoped to understand some news of our fifteen men, but especially to learn the disposition of the people of the country towards us, and to renew our old friendship with them. At our first landing, they seemed as though they would fight with us; but, perceiving us to begin to march with our shot[2] towards them, they turned their backs, and fled. Then Manteo their countryman called to them in their own language, whom as soon as they heard, they returned, and threw away their bows and arrows; and some of them came unto us, embracing and entertaining us friendly, desiring us not to gather or spill any of their corn, for they had but little. We answered them that neither their corn, nor any thing of theirs, should be diminished by any of us; and that our coming was only to renew the old love that was between us and them at the first, and to live with them

[1] Probably the island now called Ocracoke. [2] Aim.

as brethren and friends: which answer seemed to please them well. Wherefore they requested us to walk up to their town, who there feasted us after their manner, and desired us earnestly that there might be some token or badges given them of us, whereby we might know them to be our friends when we met them anywhere out of the town or island. . . .

We understood by them of Croatoan, how that the fifteen Englishmen left at Roanoke the year before by Sir Richard Grenville were suddenly set upon by thirty of the men of Secota, Aquascogoc, and Dasamonguepeuk in manner following. They conveyed themselves secretly behind the trees, near the houses where our men carelessly lived. And, having perceived that of those fifteen they could see but eleven only, two of those savages appeared to the eleven Englishmen, calling to them by friendly signs, that but two of their chiefest men should come unarmed to speak with those two savages, who seemed also to be unarmed. Wherefore two of the chiefest of our Englishmen went gladly to them; but, whilst one of those savages traitorously embraced one of our men, the other with his sword of wood, which he had secretly hidden under his mantle, struck him on the head, and slew him; and presently the other eight and twenty savages showed themselves.

The other Englishman, perceiving this, fled to his company, whom the savages pursued with their bows and arrows so fast, that the Englishmen were forced to take the house, wherein all their victuals and weapons were; but the savages forthwith set the same on fire, by means whereof our men were forced to take up

such weapons as came first to hand, and without order to run forth among the savages, with whom they skirmished above an hour. In this skirmish, another of our men was shot into the mouth with an arrow, where[1] he died; and also one of the savages was shot into the side by one of our men, with a wildfire arrow,[2] whereof he died presently.

The place where they fought was of great advantage to the savages, by means of the thick trees, behind which the savages, through their nimbleness, defended themselves, and so offended our men with their arrows, that our men, being some of them hurt, retired fighting to the water-side, where their boat lay, with which they fled towards Hatorask. By that time they had rowed but a quarter of a mile, they espied their four fellows coming from a creek thereby, where they had been to fetch oysters. These four they received into their boat, leaving Roanoke, and landed on a little island on the right hand of our entrance into the harbor of Hatorask, where they remained a while, but afterward departed, whither as yet we know not.

Having now sufficiently despatched our business at Croatoan, the same day departed friendly, taking our leave, and came aboard the fleet at Hatorask. . . .

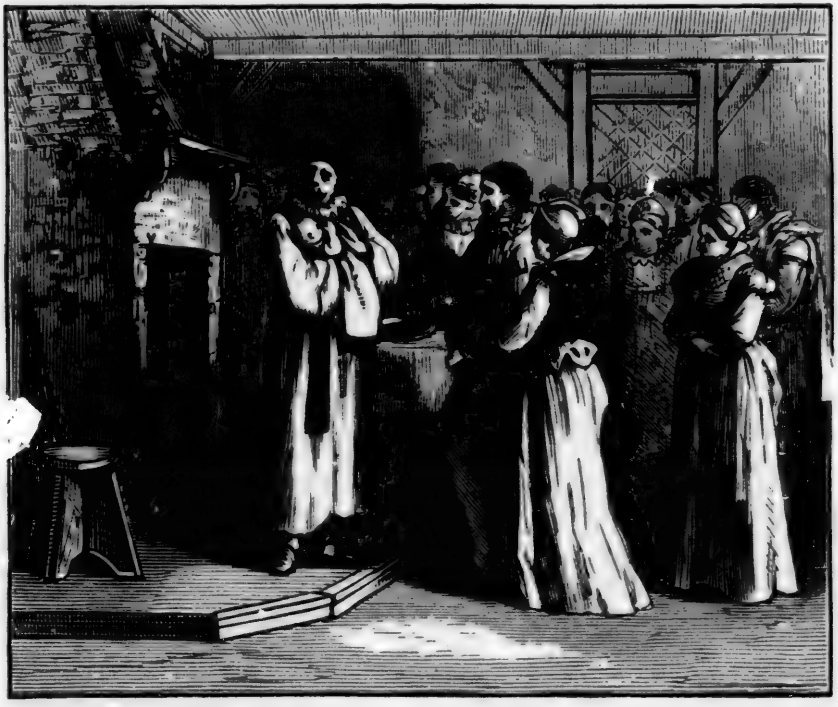
The 18th, Eleanor, daughter to the governor, and wife to Ananias Dare, one of the assistants, was delivered of a daughter in Roanoke, and the same was christened there the Sunday following; and, because this child was the first Christian born in Virginia, she was named Virginia. By this time, our ships had unladen the

[1] Wherefore.

[2] Probably an arrow rubbed with some irritating ointment.

goods and victuals of the planters, and began to take in wood and fresh water, and to new calk and trim them for England: the planters, also, prepared their letters and tokens to send back into England. . . .

The next day, the 22d of August, the whole company, both of the assistants and planters, came to the governor, and with one voice requested him to return



BAPTISM OF FIRST CHILD IN VIRGINIA.

himself into England, for the better and sooner obtaining of supplies and other necessaries for them; but he refused it. . . .

The governor, being at the last, through their extreme entreating, constrained to return into England, having then but half a day's respite to prepare himself for the same, departed from Roanoke the seven and

twentieth of August, in the morning, and the same day after midnight came aboard the fly-boat, who already had weighed anchor, and rode without the bar, the admiral riding by them, who, but the same morning, was newly come thither again. The same day both the ships weighed anchor, and set sail for England.

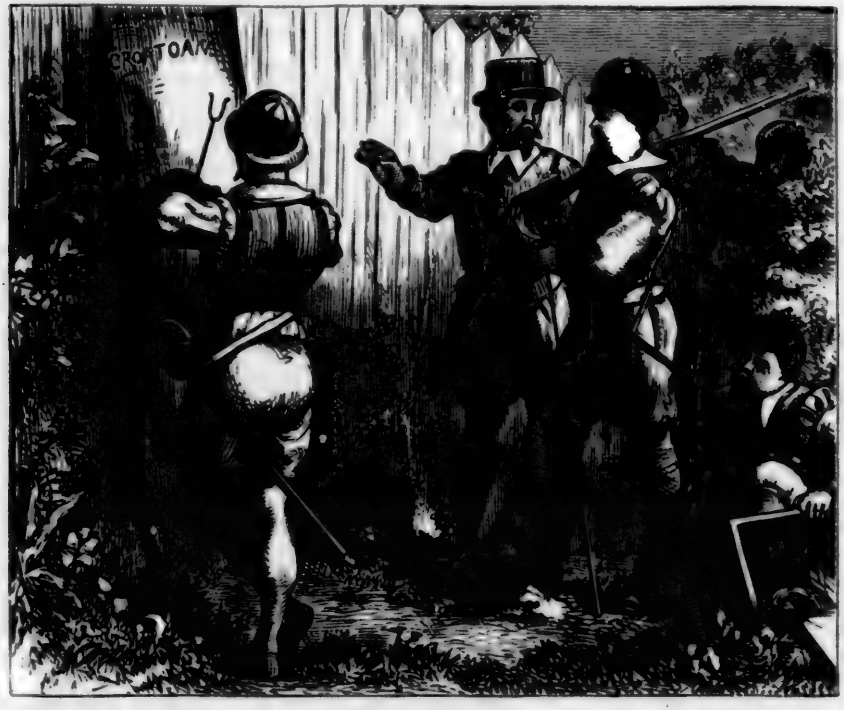
V. — Search for the Lost Colony.

[It was three years before Governor White returned to the colony which he had left. He reached the coast of Virginia in August, 1590, and thus describes what followed.]

Our boats and all things fitted again, we put off from Hatorask, being the number of nineteen persons in both boats. But, before we could get to the place where our planters were left, it was so exceeding dark, that we overshot the place a quarter of a mile: there we espied, towards the north end of the island, the light of a great fire through the woods, to the which we presently rowed: when we came right over against it, we let fall our grapnel near the shore, and sounded with a trumpet a call, and afterward many English tunes of songs, and called to them friendly, but we had no answer. We therefore landed at daybreak, and, coming to the fire, we found the grass and sundry rotten trees burning about the place. From hence we went through the woods to that part of the island directly over against Dasamonguepeuk; and from thence we returned by the water-side round about the north point of the island, until we came to the place where I left our colony in the year 1586.[1]

[1] A mistake of the pen. It was 1587.

In all this way we saw in the sand the print of the savages' feet, of two or three sorts, trodden [in] the night; and as we entered up the sandy bank, upon a tree, in the very brow thereof, were curiously carved these fair Roman letters, C R O: which letters presently we knew to signify the place where I should find the planters



THE EXPLORERS LOOKING AT THE TREE.

seated,[1] according to a secret token agreed upon between them and me at my last departure from them. Which was, that in any ways they should not fail to write or carve upon the trees or posts of the doors the name of the place where they should be seated; for at my coming away they were prepared to remove from Roanoke fifty miles into the main. Therefore at my

[1] Established.

departure from them in 1587, I willed them, that, if they should happen to be distressed in any of those places, then they should carve over the letters or name a cross + in this form; but we found no such sign of distress. And, having well considered of this, we passed toward the place where they were left in sundry houses; but we found the houses taken down, and the place very strongly enclosed with a high palisado of great trees, with curtains[1] and flankers,[2] very fort-like. And one of the chief trees or posts at the right side of the entrance had the bark taken off; and five feet from the ground, in fair capital letters, was graven C R O A T O A N, without any cross, or sign of distress. This done, we entered into the palisado, where we found many bars of iron, two pigs of lead, four iron fowlers,[3] iron saker-[3] shot, and such like heavy things, thrown here and there, almost overgrown with grasses and weeds.

From thence we went along by the water-side, toward the point of the creek, to see if we could find any of their boats or pinnace; but we could perceive no sign of them, nor any of the last falcons[4] and small ordnance which were left with them at my departure from them. At our return from the creek, some of our sailors, meeting us, told us they had found where divers chests had been hidden, and long since digged up again, and broken up, and much of the goods in them spoiled and scattered about, but nothing left, of such things as the savages knew any use of, undefaced. Presently Captain Cooke and I went to the place, which was in the end of an old trench, made two years past

[1] Part of the rampart of a fort.
[2] Side fortifications.
[3] Different kinds of cannon-balls.
[4] A kind of cannon.

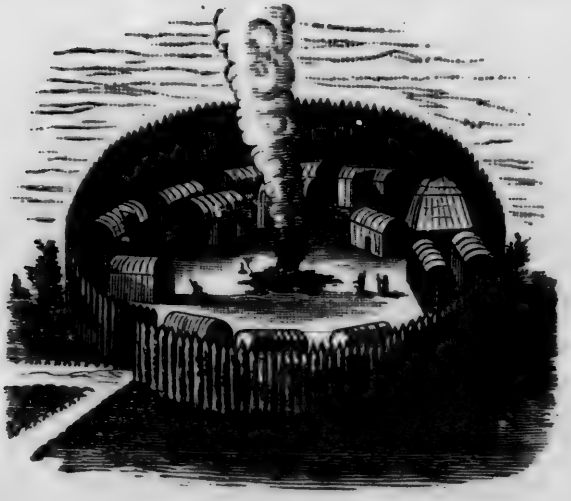
by Captain Amadas, where we found five chests that had been carefully hidden of the planters, and of the same chests three were my own; and about the place many of my things spoiled and broken, and my books torn from the covers, the frames of some of my pictures and maps rotten, and spoiled with rain, and my armor almost eaten through with rust. This could be no other but the deed of the savages, our enemies, at Dasamonguepeuk, who had watched the departure of our men to Croatoan, and, as soon as they were departed, digged up every place where they suspected any thing to be buried. But although it much grieved me to see such spoil of my goods, yet on the other side I greatly joyed that I had safely found a certain token of their safe being at Croatoan, which is the place where Manteo was born, and the savages of the island our friends. . . .

The next morning it was agreed by the captain and myself, with the master and others, to weigh anchor, and go for the place at Croatoan, where our planters were, for that then the wind was good for that place, and also to leave that cask with fresh water on shore in the island until our return. So then they brought the cable to the captain; but, when the anchor was almost apeak,[1] the cable broke, by means whereof we lost another anchor, wherewith we drove so fast into the shore, that we were forced to let fall a third anchor; which came so fast home, that the ship was almost aground by Kenrick's Mounts; so that we were forced to let slip the cable end for end. . . . Being thus clear of some dangers, and gotten into deeper

[1] i.e., partly drawn up, and hanging under the bow.

water, but not without some loss, for we had but one cable and anchor left us of four, and the weather grew to be fouler and fouler, our victuals scarce, and our cask and fresh water lost: it was therefore determined that we should go for St. John, or some other island to the southward, for fresh water.

[No trace of this lost colony has ever been discovered; and we can only guess at the fate of the first white child born in America, Virginia Dare. Strachey, the secretary of the Jamestown (Virginia) colony, twenty years after, was told by the Indians that seven of the English, "who escaped the slaughter at Roanoke," were preserved alive by a certain chief; but neither he nor Captain John Smith has left on record any thing more.]



PALISADED TOWN.

BOOK X.

UNSUCCESSFUL SETTLEMENTS IN NEW ENGLAND.

(A.D. 1602–1607.)

The narrative of Captain Gosnold's adventures is taken from John Brereton's "Brief and True Relation of the Discovery of the North Part of Virginia: being a most pleasant, fruitful, and commodious soil." Reprinted in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 3d series, vol. viii. pp. 85–93.

Waymouth's narrative is taken from "A True Relation of the most Prosperous Voyage made this Present Year, 1605, by Captain George Waymouth, in the discovery of the land of Virginia, where he discovered, sixty miles up, a most excellent river, together with a most fertile land. Written by James Rosier, a gentleman employed in the voyage." Reprinted in the same volume of the Massachusetts Historical Collections, pp. 135–156.

The other two narratives are from Strachey's "Historie of Travaile into Virginia" (reprinted by the Hakluyt Society, 1849), pp. 171–173, 176–180.

UNSUCCESSFUL SETTLEMENTS IN NEW ENGLAND.

I. — Gosnold's Fort at Cuttyhunk.

[Gosnold was the first Englishman who attempted to found a colony in New England; and this account of his attempt is by his companion, John Brereton.]

To the Honorable Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight. *Honorable Sir*, — Being earnestly requested by a dear friend to put down in writing some true relation of our late-performed voyage to the north parts of Virginia,[1] at length I resolved to satisfy his request. . . .

May it please your Lordship, therefore, to understand that upon the five and twentieth of March, 1602, being Friday, we went from Falmouth, being in all two and thirty persons, in a small bark of Dartmouth, called "The Concord," holding a course for the north part of Virginia. . . .

On Friday, the 14th of May, early in the morning, we made the land, being full of fair trees, the land

[1] The Massachusetts coast was still described as a part of Virginia.

somewhat low, certain hammocks[1] or hills lying into the land, the shore full of white sand, but very stony or rocky. And standing fair along by the shore, about twelve of the clock the same day, we came to an anchor, where eight Indians in a Basque-shallop,[2] with mast and sail, an iron grapple, and a kettle of copper, came boldly aboard us, one of them apparelled with a waistcoat and breeches of black serge, made after our sea fashion, hose and shoes on his feet: all the rest — saving one that had a pair of breeches of blue cloth — were naked. These people are of tall stature, broad and grim visage, of a black, swart complexion, their eyebrows painted white. Their weapons are bows and arrows. It seemed by some words and signs they made, that some Basques, or of St. John de Luz,[3] have fished or traded in this place, being in the latitude of forty-three degrees.

But riding here, in no very good harbor, and withal doubting the weather, about three of the clock the same day, in the afternoon, we weighed, and standing southerly off into sea the rest of that day and the night following, with a fresh gale of wind, in the morning we found ourselves embayed with a mighty headland.[4] But coming to an anchor about nine of the clock the same day, within a league of the shore, we hoisted out the one-half of our shallop; and Captain Bartholomew Gosnold, myself, and three others, went ashore, being a white, sandy, and bold shore; and

1 Hummocks, or small hills.

2 Probably a boat obtained from some Basque vessel. The Basques, or Biscayans, were among the first to engage in the New England fisheries.

3 A port in the Bay of Biscay.

4 Cape Cod.

marching all that afternoon, with our muskets on our necks, on the highest hills which we saw, — the weather very hot, — at length we perceived this headland to be parcel of the main, and sundry islands lying almost round about it. So returning towards evening to our shallop, — for by that time the other part was brought ashore, and set together, — we espied an Indian, a young man of proper stature, and of a pleasing countenance ; and, after some familiarity with him, we left him at the seaside, and returned to our ship, where, in five or six hours' absence, we had pestered [1] our ship so with codfish, that we threw numbers of them overboard again. And surely, I am persuaded, that in the months of March, April, and May, there is upon this coast better fishing, and in as great plenty, as in Newfoundland ; for the skulls of mackerel, herrings, cod, and other fish, that we daily saw as we went and came from the shore, were wonderful. And besides, the places where we took these cods, and might in a few days have laden our ship, were but in seven fathoms water, and within less than a league from the shore ; where,[2] in Newfoundland, they fish in forty or fifty fathoms water, and far off.

From this place we sailed round about this headland almost all the points of the compass, the shore very bold ; but, as no coast is free from dangers, so I am persuaded this is as free as any. The land somewhat low, full of goodly woods, but in some places plain. At length we were come amongst many fair islands, which we had partly discerned at our first landing, all lying within a league or two one of another, and the

[1] Crowded. [2] Whereas.

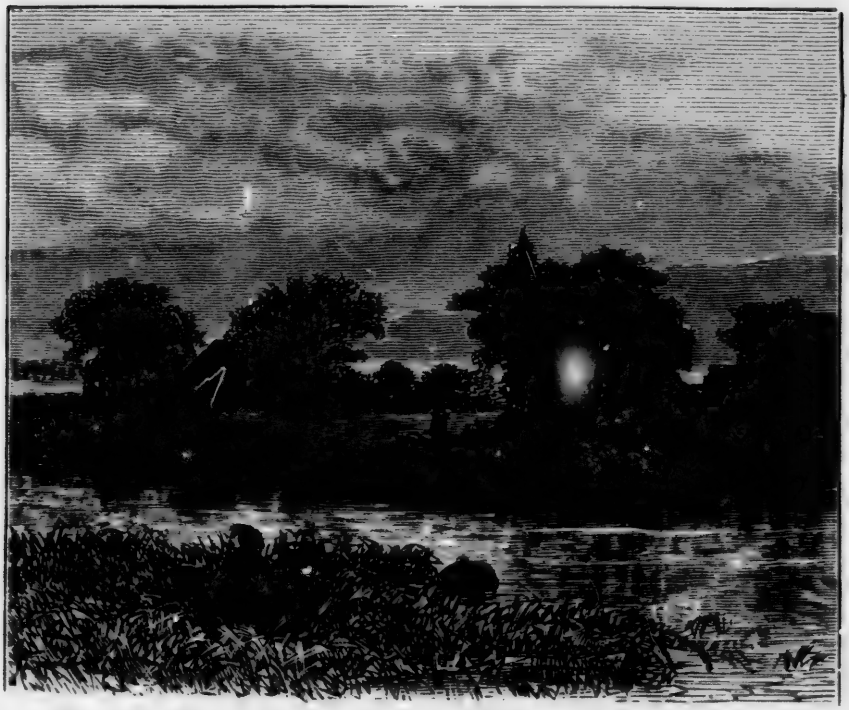
outermost not above five or seven leagues from the main. But coming to an anchor under one of them,[1] which was about three or four leagues from the main, Captain Gosnold, myself, and some others, went ashore; and, going round about it, we found it to be four English miles in compass, without house or inhabitant, saving a little old house made of boughs covered with bark, an old piece of a weir of the Indians to catch fish, and one or two places where they had made fires. The chiefest trees of this island are beeches and cedars, the outward parts all overgrown with low, bushy trees three or four feet in height, which bear some kind of fruits, as appeared by their blossoms; strawberries, red and white, as sweet and much bigger than ours in England; raspberries, gooseberries, whortleberries, and such an incredible store of vines, as well in the woody part of the island, where they run upon every tree, as on the outward parts, so that we could not go for treading upon them; also many springs of excellent sweet water, and a great standing lake of fresh water near the seaside an English mile in compass, which is maintained with the springs, running exceeding pleasantly through the woody grounds, which are very rocky. Here are also in this island great store of deer, which we saw, and other beasts, as appeared by their tracks; as also divers fowls, as cranes, hernshaws,[2] bitterns, geese, mallards, teals, and other fowl in great plenty; also great store of peas, which grow in certain plots all the island over. On the north side of this island we found many huge bones and ribs of whales.

From hence we went to another island to the north-

[1] No Man's Land. [2] Herons.

west of this, and within a league or two of the main, which we found to be greater than before we imagined, being sixteen English miles, at the least, in compass; for it containeth many pieces or necks of land, which differ nothing from several islands, saving that certain banks of small breadth do like bridges join them to this island. On the outside of this island are many plain places of grass, abundance of strawberries, and other berries before mentioned. In mid-May we did sow in this island, for a trial, in sundry places, wheat, barley, oats, and peas, which in fourteen days were sprung up nine inches, and more. The soil is fat and lusty, the upper crust of gray color, but a foot or less in depth, of the color of our hemp-lands in England, and being thus apt for these and the like grains. The sowing or setting — after the ground is closed — is no greater labor than if you should set or sow in one of our best prepared gardens in England. This island is full of high timbered oaks, their leaves thrice so broad as ours; cedars, straight and tall; beech, elm holly, walnut-trees in abundance, the fruit as big as ours, as appeared by those we found under the trees, which had lain all the year ungathered; hazelnut-trees, cherry-trees, the leaf, bark, and bigness not differing from ours in England, but the stalk beareth the blossoms or fruit at the end thereof, like a cluster of grapes, forty or fifty in a bunch; sassafras-trees, great plenty all the island over, a tree of high price and profit; also divers other fruit-trees, some of them with strange barks of an orange color, in feeling soft and smooth like velvet: in the thickest parts of these woods you may see a furlong or more round about.

On the north-west side of this island, near to the sea-side, is a standing lake of fresh water, almost three English miles in compass, in the midst whereof stands a plot of woody ground, an acre in quantity, or not above. This lake is full of small tortoises, and exceedingly frequented with all sorts of fowls, before rehearsed,[1] which breed, some low on the banks, and others on low



GOSNOLD'S FORT.

trees about this lake, in great abundance, whose young ones of all sorts we took and ate at our pleasure; but all these fowls are much bigger than ours in England. Also in every island, and almost in every part of every island, are great store of ground-nuts, forty together on a string, some of them as big as hen's eggs: they

[1] Enumerated.

grow not two inches under ground, the which nuts we found to be as good as potatoes. Also divers sorts of shell-fish, as scallops, mussels, cockles, lobsters, crabs, oysters, and whelks, exceeding good and very great. . . .

Now the next day, we determined to fortify ourselves in a little plot of ground in the midst of the lake above mentioned, where we built our house, and covered it with sedge, which grew about this lake in great abundance; in building whereof we spent three weeks, and more. But, the second day after our coming from the main, we espied eleven canoes or boats, with fifty Indians in them, coming toward us from this part of the main, where we two days before landed; and, being loath they should discover our fortification, we went out on the seaside to meet them. And, coming somewhat near them, they all sat down upon the stones, calling aloud to us, as we rightly guessed, to do the like, a little distance from them. Having sat a while in this order, Captain Gosnold willed me to go unto them to see what countenance[1] they would make; but, as soon as I came up unto them, one of them, to whom I had given a knife two days before in the main, knew me, whom I also very well remembered, and, smiling upon me, spake somewhat unto their lord or captain, which sat in the midst of them, who presently rose up, and took a large beaver-skin from one that stood about him, and gave it unto me, which I requited for that time the best I could. But I, pointing towards Captain Gosnold, made signs unto him that he was our captain, and desirous to be his friend, and enter league with him, which, as I perceive, he understood, and made signs of joy. Whereupon

[1] Behavior.

Captain Gosnold, with the rest of his company, being twenty in all, came up unto them, and after many signs of gratulations, — Captain Gosnold presenting their lord with certain trifles which they wondered at and highly esteemed, — we became very great friends, and sent for meat aboard our shallop, and gave them such meats as we had then ready dressed; whereof they misliked nothing but our mustard, whereat they made many a sour face. . . .

So the rest of the day we spent in trading with them for furs, which are beavers, luzernes, martens, otters, wildcat-skins, — very large and deep fur, — black foxes, coney skins, of the color of our hares, but somewhat less, deer-skins very large, seal-skins, and other beasts' skins, to us unknown. They have also great store of copper, some very red, and some of a paler color: none of them but have chains, ear-rings, or collars of this metal. They head some of their arrows herewith, much like our broad arrow-heads, very workmanly made. Their chains are many hollow pieces cemented together, each piece of the bigness of one of our reeds, a finger in length, ten or twelve of them together on a string, which they wear about their necks. Their collars they wear about their bodies, like bandoleers,[1] a handful broad, all hollow pieces like the other, but somewhat shorter, four hundred pieces in a collar, very fine and evenly set together. Besides these, they have large drinking-cups made like skulls, and other thin plates of copper, made much like our boar spear blades, all which they so little esteem as they offered their fairest collars or chains for a knife or such like trifle; but we seemed

[1] A belt with cartridge-boxes.

little to regard it. Yet I was desirous to understand where they had such store of this metal, and made signs to one of them, with whom I was very familiar, who, taking a piece of copper in his hand, made a hole with his finger in the ground, and withal pointed to the main[1] from whence they came. . . .

Thus they continued with us three days, every night retiring themselves to the furthermost part of our island, two or three miles from our fort; but the fourth day they returned to the main, pointing five or six times to the sun, and once to the main, which we understood [to mean] that, within five or six days, they would come from the main to us again. But, being in their canoes a little from the shore, they made huge cries and shouts of joy unto us; and we with our trumpet and cornet, and casting up our caps into the air, made them the best farewell we could. Yet six or seven of them remained with us behind, bearing us company every day into the woods, and helped us to cut and carry our sassafras, and some of them lay[2] aboard our ship.

These people, as they are exceeding courteous, gentle of disposition, and well conditioned, exceeding all others that we have seen, so for shape of body and lovely favor, I think they excel all the people of America. [They are] of stature much higher than we; of complexion or color much like a dark olive; their eyebrows and hair black, which they wear long, tied up behind in knots, whereon they prick feathers of fowls, in fashion of a coronet. Some of them are black, thin-bearded. They make beards of the hair of beasts;

[1] Mainland. [2] Slept.

and one of them offered a beard of their making to one of our sailors, for his that grew on his face, which, because it was of a red color, they judged to be none of his own. They are quick-eyed, and steadfast in their looks, fearless of others' harms, as intending none themselves; some of the meaner sort given to filching, which the very name of savages, not weighing their ignorance in good or evil, may easily excuse. Their garments are of deer-skins; and some of them wear furs round and close about their necks. They pronounce our language with great facility; for one of them one day sitting by me, upon occasion I spake smiling to him these words, "How now, sirrah, are you so saucy with my tobacco?" which words, without any further repetition, he suddenly spake so plain and distinctly, as if he had been a long scholar in the language. Many other such trials we had, which are here needless to repeat. . . .

But after our bark had taken in so much sassafras,[1] cedar, firs, skins, and other commodities, as were thought convenient, some of our company that had promised Captain Gosnold to stay, having nothing but a saving[2] voyage in their minds, made our company of inhabitants, which was small enough before, much smaller; so as[3] Captain Gosnold seeing his whole strength to consist but of twelve men, and they but meanly provided, determined to return for England, leaving this island, which he called Elizabeth's Island,[4] with as many true sorrowful eyes as were before desirous to see it. So the 18th of June, being Friday, we

[1] Then much valued as a medicine. [2] Profitable.
[3] That. [4] Now called by its Indian name of Cuttyhunk.

weighed, and with indifferent fair wind and weather came to anchor the 23d of July, being also Friday, in all bare five weeks, before Exmouth.

Your Lordship's to command,

JOHN BRERETON.

II. — CAPTAIN WAYMOUTH CAPTURES INDIANS, AND EXPLORES THE PENOBSCOT RIVER.

[Captain George Waymouth, or Weymouth, sailed from England in 1605.]

WEDNESDAY the twenty-ninth day [of May], our shallop being now finished, and our captain and men furnished to depart with her from the ship, we set up a cross on the shore-side upon the rocks.

Thursday, the 30th of May, about ten o'clock before noon, our captain, with thirteen men more, in the name of God, and with all our prayers for our prosperous discovery and safe return, departed in the shallop; leaving the ship in a good harbor, which before I mentioned, well moored, and manned with fourteen men.

This day, about five o'clock in the afternoon, we in the ship espied three canoes coming towards us, which went to the island adjoining, where they went ashore, and very quickly had made a fire, about which they stood beholding our ship, to whom we made signs with our hands and hats, waving unto them to come unto us, because we had not seen any of the people yet. They sent one canoe with three men, one of which, when they came near unto us, spake in his language very loud and very boldly, seeming as though he would know why we were there; and by pointing with

his oar towards the sea, we conjectured he meant we should be gone. But when we showed them knives and their use, by cutting of sticks; and other trifles, as combs and glasses, they came close aboard our ship, as desirous to entertain our friendship. To these we gave such things as we perceived they liked, when we showed them the use, — bracelets, rings, peacock-feathers, which they stuck in their hair, and tobacco-pipes. After their departure to their company on the shore, presently came four others in another canoe; to whom we gave as to the former, using them with as much kindness as we could.

The shape of their body is very proportionable. They are well countenanced, not very tall nor big, but in stature like to us. They paint their bodies with black; their façes, some with red, some with black, and some with blue.

Their clothing is beaver-skins or deer-skins cast over them like a mantle, and hanging down to their knees, made fast together upon the shoulder with leather: some of them had sleeves, most had none; some had buskins of such leather sewed. . . .

The next morning, very early, came one canoe aboard us again, with three savages, whom we easily then enticed into our ship, and under the deck, where we gave them pork, fish, bread, and peas, all which they did eat; and this I noted, they would eat nothing raw, either fish or flesh. They marvelled much, and much looked upon the making of our can and kettle, so they did at a head-piece,[1] and at our guns, of which they are most fearful, and would fall flat down at the report

[1] Of armor.

of them. At their departure, I signed unto them, that, if they would bring me back such skins as they wear, I would give them knives, and such things as I saw they most liked, which the chief of them promised to do by that time the sun should be beyond the midst of the firmament.[1] This I did to bring them to an understanding of exchange, and that they might conceive the intent of our coming to them to be for no other end. . . .

I return now to our savages, who, according to their appointment, about one o'clock, came with four canoes to the shore of the island right over against us, where they had lodged the last night, and sent one canoe to us with two of those savages who had been aboard, and another who then seemed to have command of them; for though we perceived their willingness, yet he would not permit them to come aboard; but he, having viewed us and our ship, signed that he would go to the rest of the company, and return again. Presently after their departure, it began to rain, and continued all that afternoon, so as they could not come to us with their skins and furs, nor we go to them. But, after an hour or thereabout, the three which had been with us before came again, whom we had to our fire, and covered them with our gowns. Our captain bestowed a shirt upon him, whom we thought to be their chief, who seemed never to have seen any before. We gave him a brooch to hang about his neck, a great knife, and lesser knives to the two other; and to every one of them a comb and glass, the use whereof we showed them; whereat they laughed and took these

[1] i.e., in the afternoon.

presents gladly. We victualled[1] them, and gave them *aqua vitæ*,[2] which they tasted, but would by no means drink. Our beverage they liked well. We gave them sugar-candy, which after they had tasted they liked, and desired more, and raisins which were given them; and some of every thing they would reserve to carry to their company. Wherefore we, pitying their being in the rain, and therefore not able to get themselves victual, as we thought, we gave them bread and fish.

Thus, because we found the land a place answerable to the intent of our discovery, namely, fit for any nation to inhabit, we used the people with as great kindness as we could devise, or found them capable of.

The next day being Saturday, and the 1st of June, I traded with the savages all the forenoon upon the shore, where were eight and twenty of them; and, because our ship rode nigh, we were but five or six; where, for knives, glasses, combs, and other trifles, to the value of four or five shillings, we had forty good beavers' skins, otters' skins, sables, and other small skins which we knew not how to call. Our trade being ended, many of them came aboard us, and did eat by our fire, and would be very merry and bold in regard of our kind usage of them. Towards night, our captain went on shore to have a draught with the seine, or net. And we carried two of them with us, who marvelled to see us catch fish with a net. Most of that we caught we gave them and their company. Then on the shore I learned the names of divers things of them; and, when they perceived me to note them down, they

[1] Fed. [2] Brandy.

would of themselves fetch fish and fruit-bushes, and stand by me to see me write their names.

Our captain showed them a strange thing, which they wondered at. His sword and mine, having been touched with the loadstone, took up a knife, and held it fast when they plucked it away, made the knife turn, — being laid on a block, — and, touching it with his sword, made that take up a needle, whereat they much marvelled. This we did to cause them to imagine some great power in us, and for that to love and fear us. . . .

Our captain had two of them at supper with us in his cabin, to see their demeanor, and had them in presence at service,[1] who behaved themselves very civilly, neither laughing nor talking all the time, and at supper fed not like men of rude education; neither would they eat or drink more than seemed to content nature. They desired peas to carry ashore to their women, which we gave them, with fish and bread, and lent them pewter dishes, which they carefully brought again. . . .

This day, about five o'clock, afternoon, came three other canoes from the main, of which some had been with us before; and they came aboard us, and brought us tobacco, which we took with them in their pipes, which were made of earth, very strong, black, and short, containing a great quantity. Some tobacco they gave unto our captain, and some to me, in very civil, kind manner: we requited them with bread and peas, which they carried to their company on shore, seeming very thankful. After supper they returned with their canoe, to fetch us ashore, to take tobacco with them there, with whom six or seven of us went, and carried some

[1] Prayers.

trifles, if peradventure they had any truck,[1] among which I carried some few biscuits, to try if they would exchange for them, seeing they so well liked to eat them. When we came at shore, they most kindly entertained us, taking us by the hands, as they observed we did to them aboard, in token of welcome, and brought us to sit down by their fire, where sat together thirteen of them. They filled their tobacco-pipe, which was then the short claw of a lobster, which will hold ten of our pipes full, and we drank[2] of their excellent tobacco as much as we would with them. But we saw not any great quantity to truck[3] for; and it seemed they had not much left of old, for they spend a great quantity yearly by their continual drinking. And they would sign unto us that it was grown yet but a foot above ground, and would be above a yard high, with a leaf as broad as both their hands. . . .

About eight o'clock this day, we went on shore with our boats, to fetch aboard water and wood; our captain leaving word with the gunner in the ship, by discharging a musket, to give notice, if they espied any canoe coming; which they did about ten o'clock. He, therefore, being careful they should be kindly treated, requested me to go aboard, intending with despatch to make what haste after he possibly could. When I came to the ship, there were two canoes, and in either of them three savages, of whom two were below at the fire: the others staid in their canoes about the ship, and, because we could not entice them aboard, we gave them a can of

[1] i.e., any thing to truck or trade for.

[2] Smoked. This word was formerly much used in describing the use of tobacco.

[3] Trade.

peas and bread, which they carried to the shore to eat. But one of them brought back our can presently, and staid aboard with the other two ; for he, being young, of a ready capacity, and one we most desired to bring with us into England, had received exceeding kind usage at our hands, and was therefore much delighted in our company. When our captain was come, we consulted how to catch the other three at shore, which we performed thus : —

We manned the light horseman [1] with seven or eight men. One standing before carried our box of merchandise, as we were wont when I went to traffic with them, and a platter of peas, which meat [2] they loved. But, before we were landed, one of them (being so suspiciously fearful of his own good) withdrew himself into the wood. The other two met us on the shore-side, to receive the peas, with whom we went up the cliff to their fire, and sat down with them ; and while we were discussing how to catch the third man, who was gone, I opened the box, and showed them trifles to exchange, thinking thereby to have banished fear from the other, and drawn him to return. But, when we could not, we used little delay, but suddenly laid hands upon them. And it was as much as five or six of us could do to get them into the light horseman ; for they were strong, and so naked as [3] by far our best hold was by the long hair on their heads. And we would have been very loath to have done them any hurt, which of necessity we had been constrained to have done if we had attempted them in a multitude, which we must and would, rather

[1] A kind of boat similar to what is now called a gig.
[2] Food. [3] That.

than have wanted them, being a matter of great importance for the full accomplishment of our voyage.

Thus we shipped five savages, two canoes, with all their bows and arrows. . . . Tuesday, the 11th of June, we passed up into the river[1] with our ship about six and twenty miles, of which I had rather not write than by my relation to detract from the worthiness thereof. . . .

As we passed with a gentle wind up with our ship in this river, any man may conceive with what admiration we all consented[2] in joy. Many of our company who had been travellers in sundry countries, and in the most famous rivers, yet affirmed them not comparable to this they now beheld. Some that were with Sir Walter Raleigh in his voyage to Guiana, in the discovery of the River Orenoque,[3] which echoed fame to the world's ears, gave reasons why it was not to be compared with this, which wanteth the danger of many shoals and broken ground, wherewith that was encumbered. Others before that notable river in the West Indies called Rio Grande; some before the River of Loire, the River Seine, and of Bourdeaux, in France, which, although they be great and goodly rivers, yet it is no detraction from them to be accounted inferior to this, which not only yieldeth all the aforesaid pleasant profits, but also appeareth infallibly to us free from all inconveniences.

I will not prefer it before our River of Thames, because it is England's richest treasure; but we all did wish those excellent harbors, good deeps in a continual convenient breadth, and small tide-gates, to be as well therein for our country's good as we found them here

[1] Probably the Penobscot. [2] Agreed. [3] Orinoco.

CAPT. WEYMOUTH SAILING UP THE PENOBSCOT.

Page 220.

— beyond our hopes — in certain, for those to whom it shall please God to grant this land for habitation; which if it had, with the other inseparable adherent commodities here to be found, then I would boldly affirm it to be the most rich, beautiful, large, and secure harboring river that the world affordeth. . . . Further, I have thought fit to add some things worthy to be regarded, which we have observed from the savages since we took them.

First, although at the time we surprised them, they made their best resistance, not knowing our purpose, nor what we were, not how we meant to use them; yet, after perceiving by their kind usage we intended them no harm, they have never since seemed discontented with us, but very tractable, loving, and willing by their best means to satisfy us in any thing we demand of them, by words or signs for their understanding. Neither have they at any time been at the least discord among themselves, insomuch as we have not seen them angry, but merry, and so kind, as, if you give any thing to one of them, he will distribute part to every one of the rest.

We have brought them to understand some English, and we understand much of their language, so as we are able to ask them many things.

[The Indians thus carried to England were the objects of great wonder, and crowds of people followed them in the streets. It is thought that Shakspeare may have referred to them in the Tempest, written a few years later, about 1610. Trinculo there wishes to take the monster Caliban to England, and says, "Not a holiday fool there but would give a piece of silver; there would this monster make a man; any strange beast there makes a man. When they will not give a doit to relieve a lame beggar, they will lay out ten to see a dead Indian."]

III. — The Popham Colony on the Kennebec.

[So much interest was excited by the voyages of Gosnold and Waymouth, that two companies were formed in England for the settlement of America, — the London Company and the Plymouth Company. Each company sent out a colony in 1606; but the ship sent by the Plymouth Company was taken by a Spanish fleet, while the other colony reached Virginia. Then in June, 1607, the Plymouth Company sent another colony, under command of Captain George Popham, he being in a vessel called "The Gift of God," accompanied by "The Mary and John," Captain Raleigh Gilbert. They reached the mouth of the River Sachadehoc, or Kennebec, in August; and the narrative proceeds as follows, as told by Strachey, secretary of the Virginia Colony.]

Captain Popham, in his pinnace, with thirty persons, and Captain Gilbert in his long-boat, with eighteen persons more, went early in the morning from their ship into the River Sachadehoc, to view the river, and to search where they might find a fit place for their plantation. They sailed up into the river near forty leagues, and found it to be a very gallant river, very deep, and seldom less water than three fathom, . . . whereupon they proceeded no farther, but, in their return homewards, observed many goodly islands therein, and many branches of other small rivers falling into it.

JAMES I.

They all went ashore, and there made choice of a

place for their plantation,[1] at the mouth or entry of the river on the west side, — for the river bendeth itself towards the nor'-east, and by east, — being almost an island, of a good bigness, being in a province called by the Indians Sabino, so called of a sagamo, or chief commander, under the grand Bassaba.[2] As they were ashore, three canoes full of Indians came to them, but would not come near, but rowed away up the river.

They all went ashore where they had made choice of their plantation, and where they had a sermon delivered unto them by their preacher; and, after the sermon, the president's commission was read, with the laws to be observed and kept. George Popham, gent.,[3] was nominated president. Captain Raleigh Gilbert, James Davies, Richard Lymer, preacher, Captain Richard Davies, Captain Harlow, the same who brought away the savages at this time showed in London, from the river of Canada, were all sworn assistants; and so they returned back again.

Aug. 20. All went to shore again, and there began to intrench and make a fort, and to build a storehouse. . . .

You may please to understand how, whilst this business was thus followed here, soon after their first arrival, that [they] had despatched away Captain Robert Davies, in the "Mary and John," to advertise of their safe arrival and forwardness of their plantation within this River of Sachadehoc, with letters to the lord chief

[1] This place was at one time supposed to have been what is now called Parker's Island; but is now thought to have been Cape Small Point on the main land, near the site of the present Fort Popham.

[2] Higher chief. [3] Gentleman.

justice, importuning a supply for the most necessary wants to the subsisting of a colony to be sent unto them betimes the next year.

After Captain Davies' departure, they fully finished the fort, trenched and fortified it with twelve pieces of ordnance, and built fifty houses therein, besides a church and a storehouse; and the carpenters framed a pretty pinnace[1] of about some thirty tons, which they called the "Virginia;" the chief shipwright being one Digby of London.

Many discoveries, likewise, had been made both to the main and unto the neighbor rivers, and the frontier nations fully discovered by the diligence of Captain Gilbert, had not the winter proved so extreme unseasonable and frosty; for it being in the year 1607, when the extraordinary frost was felt in most parts of Europe, it was here likewise as vehement, by which no boat could stir upon any business. Howbeit, as time and occasion gave leave, there was nothing omitted which could add unto the benefit or knowledge of the planters, for which when Captain Davies arrived there in the year following, — set out from Topsham, the port town of Exeter, with a ship laden full of victuals, arms, instruments, and tools, &c., — albeit he found Mr. George Popham, the president, and some other dead, yet he found all things in good forwardness, and many kinds of furs obtained from the Indians by way of trade, good store of sarsaparilla gathered, and the new pinnace all finished. But by reason that Captain Gilbert received letters that his brother was newly dead, and a fair portion of land fallen unto his share, which re-

[1] Vessel.

quired his repair[1] home, and no mines discovered, and no hope thereof, — being the main intended benefit expected to uphold the charge of this plantation, — and the fear that all other winters would prove like the first, the company by no means would stay any longer in the country, especially Captain Gilbert being to leave them, and Mr. Popham, as aforesaid, dead: therefore they all embarked in this new arrived ship, and in the new pinnace, the "Virginia," and set sail for England. And this was the end of that northern colony upon the River Sachadehoc.

[This was the first colony that spent a winter in New England, — thirteen years before the Plymouth Colony arrived. The winter was an unusually severe one; and, moreover, the chief promoters of the colony, Sir John Popham and Captain Popham, died. But for this, it is possible that the colony might have remained; and, in that case, Maine would have been settled only a year later than Virginia.]

IV. — Captain Gilbert's Adventure with the Indians.

[Captain Gilbert, the companion of Captain Popham, went up the River Kennebec, or Sachadehoc, in a shallop with nineteen men, and had this adventure with Indians.]

In the morning there came a canoe unto them, and in her a sagamo[2] and four savages, — some of those which spoke to them the night before. The sagamo called his name Lebenoa, and told us how he was lord of the River Sachadehoc. They entertained him friendly, and took him into their boat, and presented him with

[1] Return. [2] Chief.

some trifling things, which he accepted. Howbeit, he desired some one of our men to be put in his canoe as a pawn of his safety, whereupon Captain Gilbert sent in a man of his, when presently the canoe rowed away from them, with all the speed they could make, up the river. They followed with the shallop, having great care that the sagamo should not leap overboard. The canoe quickly rowed from them, and landed; and the men made to their houses, being near a league on the land from the river's side, and carried our man with them. The shallop, making good way, at length came to another downfall,[1] which was so shallow and so swift that by no means they could pass any farther, for which Captain Gilbert, with nine others, landed, and took their fare,[2] the savage sagamo, with them, and went in search after those other savages, whose houses, the sagamo told Captain Gilbert, were not far off. And, after a good tedious march, they came indeed at length unto those savages' houses, where [they] found near fifty able men, very strong and tall, such as their like before they had not seen, all newly painted, and armed with their bows and arrows. Howbeit, after that the sagamo had talked with them, they delivered back again the man, and used all the rest very friendly, as did ours the like by them, who showed them their commodities of beads, knives, and some copper, of which they seemed very fond, and, by way of trade, made show that they would come down to the boat, and there bring such things as they had, to exchange them for ours. So Captain Gilbert departed from them; and, within half an hour after he had gotten to his boat, there came three canoes down

[1] Rapids. [2] Passenger.

unto them, and in them some sixteen savages, and brought with them some tobacco, and certain small skins, which were of no value; which Captain Gilbert perceiving, and that they had nothing else wherewith to trade, he caused all his men to come aboard. And, as he would have put from the shore, the savages perceiving so much, subtly devised how they might put out the fire in the shallop, by which means they saw they should be free from the danger of our men's pieces;[1] and, to perform the same, one of the savages came into the shallop, and taking the firebrand which one of our company held in his hand thereby to light the matches, as if he would light a pipe of tobacco, as soon as he had gotten it into his hand he presently threw it into the water, and leaped out of the shallop. Captain Gilbert, seeing that, suddenly commanded his men to betake them to their muskets, and the targetiers too, from the head of the boat; and had one of the men before, with his target on his arm, to step on the shore for more fire. The savages resisted him, and would not suffer him to take any, and some others holding fast the boat-rope, that the shallop could not put off. Captain Gilbert caused the musketeers to present their pieces, the which the savages seeing, presently let go the boat-rope, and betook them to their bows and arrows, and ran into the bushes, nocking[2] their arrows, but did not shoot, neither did ours at them. So the shallop departed from them to the farther side of the river, where one of the canoes came unto them, and would have excused the fault of the others. Captain

[1] The guns were matchlocks, for which fire was necessary.

[2] Notching, putting the notch against the string.

Gilbert made show as if he were still friends, and entertained them kindly, and so left them, returning to the place where he had lodged the night before, and there came to an anchor for that night.

BOOK XI.

CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH IN VIRGINIA

(A.D. 1606–1631.)

The first four of the following extracts are from Smith's "Generall Historie of Virginia, New England, and the Summer Isles" (edition of 1626), pp. 39-49. The next four are from the "Historie of Travaile into Virginia Britannia," by William Strachey, secretary of the Virginia Colony. Reprinted by the Hakluyt Society (1849), pp. 49-52, 57, 58, 80, 81, 110, 111. The ninth is from the "Generall Historie," p. 219. The tenth is from "A Description of New England, by Captain John Smith," printed in the Massachusetts Historical Collections, 3d series, vol. vi. pp. 109, 121. The eleventh is from the "Generall Historie," pp. 121-123. The last two are from "Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters of New England or anywhere, by Captaine John Smith, sometimes Governour of Virginia, and Admirall of New England." London, 1631. Reprinted in Mass. Hist. Coll., 3d series, vol. iii. pp. 7, 29, 30, 44. There is a memoir of Captain Smith, by G. S. Hillard, in Sparks's "American Biography," vol. ii.

CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH IN VIRGINIA.

I. — Captain John Smith in Virginia.

CAPTAIN BARTHOLOMEW GOSNOLL,[1] one of the first movers of this plantation, having many years solicited many of his friends, but found small assistance, at last prevailed with some gentlemen, as Captain John Smith, Mr. Edward Maria Wingfield, Mr. Robert Hunt, and divers others, who depended [2] a year upon his projects; but nothing could be effected, till, by their great charge and industry, it came to be apprehended by certain of the nobility, gentry, and merchants, so that his Majesty by his letters-patents gave commission for establishing councils to direct here, and to govern and to execute there. To effect this was spent another year; and by that, three ships were provided, — one of a hundred tons, another of forty, and a pinnace [3] of twenty. The transportation of the company was committed to Captain Christopher Newport, a mariner well practiced for the western parts

[1] More often written "Gosnold."

[2] Waited. [3] A small sailing-vessel.

of America. But their orders for government were put in a box, not to be opened, nor the governors known, until they arrived in Virginia.

On the 19th of December, 1606, we set sail from Blackwall, but by unprosperous winds were kept six weeks in the sight of England. . . .

We watered at the Canaries. We traded with the savages at Dominica. Three weeks we spent in refreshing ourselves among the West India Isles. In Gaudaloupe we found a bath so hot, as in it we boiled pork as well as over the fire; and, at a little isle called Monica, we took from the bushes with our hands, near two hogsheads full of birds in three or four hours. In Mevis, Mona, and the Virgin Isles, we spent some time, where, with a loathsome beast like a crocodile, called a gwayn,[1] tortoises, pelicans, parrots, and fishes, we daily feasted. Gone from thence in search of Virginia, the company was not a little discomforted, seeing the mariners had three days passed their reckoning,[2] and found no land; so that Captain Ratliffe, captain of the pinnace, rather desired to bear up the helm to return for England than make further search. But God the guider of all good actions, forcing them by an extreme storm to hull[3] all night, did drive them by his providence to their desired port, beyond all their expectation; for never any of them had seen that coast.

The first land they made they called Cape Henry, where thirty of them, recreating themselves on shore, were assaulted by five savages, who hurt two of the English very dangerously. That night was the box opened, and the orders read, in which Bartholomew

[1] Iguana. [2] i.e., taken no observations of the sun. [3] i.e., lie to.

Gosnoll, John Smith, Edward Wingfield, Christopher Newport, John Ratliffe, John Martin, and George Kendall, were named to be the council, and to choose a president among them for a year, who, with the council, should govern. Matters of moment were to be examined by a jury, but determined by the major part of the council, in which the president had two voices. Until the 13th of May, they sought a place to plant[1] in; then the council was sworn, Mr. Wingfield was chosen president, and an oration made[2] why Captain Smith was not admitted of the council as the rest.

Now falleth every man to work: the council contrive the fort, the rest cut down trees to make place to pitch their tents, some provide clapboard to relade the ships, some make gardens, some nets, &c. The savages often visited us kindly. The president's overweening jealousy[3] would admit no exercise at arms, or fortification but the boughs of trees cast together in the form of a half-moon. By the extraordinary pains and diligence of Captain Kendall, Newport, Smith, and twenty others, were sent to discover the head of the river.[4] By divers small habitations they passed. In six days they arrive at a town called Powhatan, consisting of some twelve houses pleasantly seated on a hill, before it three fertile [illegible], about it many of their cornfields. The place is very pleasant, and strong by nature. Of this place the prince is called Powhatan, and his people Powhatans. To this place the river is navigable; but higher within a mile, by reason of the rocks and isles, there is not passage for a small boat. This they call

[1] i.e., settle as planters.
[2] i.e., an explanation publicly given.
[3] Suspicion.
[4] The James River.

the falls. The people in all parts kindly entreated[1] them, till, being returned within twenty miles of Jamestown, they gave just cause of jealousy. But had God not blessed the discoverers otherwise than those at the fort, there had then been an end of that plantation; for at the fort, where they arrived the next day, they found seventeen men hurt, and a boy slain by the savages. And had it not chanced a cross-bar shot[2] from the ships struck down a bough from a tree amongst them, that caused them to retire, our men had all been slain, being securely all at work, and their arms in dry-.[3]

Hereupon the president was willing the fort should be palisaded,[4] the ordnance mounted, his men armed and exercised, for many were the assaults and ambuscades of the savages; and our men, by their disorderly straggling, were often hurt, when the savages, by the nimbleness of their heels, well escaped. What toil we had, with so small a power to guard our workmen a-days,[5] watch all night, resist our enemies, and effect our business, to relade the ships, cut down trees, and prepare the ground to plant our corn, &c., I refer to the reader's consideration.

II. — The Virginia Colonists.

Being, for most part, of such tender educations, and small experience in martial accidents, because they found [neither] English cities, nor such fair houses, nor

[1] Treated. [2] Two cannon-balls joined by a short iron bar.
[3] Baskets. [4] Surrounded with palisades. [5] By day.

at their own wishes any of their accustomed dainties, with feather-beds and downy pillows, taverns and ale-houses in every breathing-place, neither such plenty of gold and silver, and dissolute liberty, as they expected, had little or no care of any thing but to . . . procure their means to return for England. For the country was to them a misery, a ruin, a death, a hell, and their reports here and their actions there according.

Some other there were that had yearly stipends [1] to pass to and again for transportation. And those with their great words deluded the world with such strange promises as abused the business much worse than the rest. For the business being builded upon the foundation of their feigned experience, the planters, the money, and means have still miscarried; yet they ever returning, and the planters so far absent, who could contradict their excuses? Which, still to maintain their vain glory and estimation from time to time, have used such diligence as made them pass for truths, though nothing more false. And, that the adventurers might be thus abused, let no man wonder; for the wisest living is soonest abused by him that hath a fair tongue and a dissembling heart.

There were many in Virginia merely projecting, verbal and idle contemplators,[2] and those so devoted to pure idleness, that, though they had lived two or three years in Virginia, lordly necessity itself could not compel them to pass the peninsula or palisades of Jamestown; and those witty spirits, what would they not affirm in behalf of our transporters [3] to get victual from

[1] Permission to go to and from England.

[2] i.e., persons occupied in lazy contemplation.

[3] i.e., in appealing to the captains of transports, or vessels.

their ships, or obtain their good words in England to get their passes! Thus from the clamors and the influence of false informers are sprung those disasters that sprung in Virginia; and our ingenious verbalists[1] were no less a plague to us in Virginia than the locusts to the Egyptians. For the labor of twenty or thirty of the best only preserved in Christianity by their industry the idle lives of near two hundred of the rest, who, living near ten months of such natural means as the country naturally of itself affordeth. Notwithstanding all this, and the worst fury of the savages, the extremity of sickness, mutinies, faction, ignorances, and want of victual, in all that time I lost but seven or eight men, yet subjected the savages to our desired obedience, and received contribution from thirty-five of their kings, to protect and assist them against any that should assault them. In which order they continued true and faithful, and as subjects to his Majesty, so long after as I did govern there, until I left the country.

III. — Smith captured by the Indians.

And now the winter approaching, the rivers became so covered with swans, geese, ducks, and c anes, that we daily feasted with good bread, Virginia peas, pumpkins and putchamins,[2] fish, fowl, and divers sorts of wild beasts as fat as we could eat them: so that none of our tuftaffatty humorists[3] desired to go for England. But our comedies never endured long without a tragedy; some idle exceptions being muttered against

[1] Talkative people. [2] Persimmons. [3] Fantastic fellows.

Captain Smith for not discovering the head of Chickahamania[1] River, and taxed by the council to be too slow in so worthy an attempt. The next voyage he proceeded so far, that, with much labor by cutting of trees asunder, he made his passage; but, when his barge could pass no farther, he left her in a broad bay, out of danger of shot, commanding none should go ashore until his return. Himself, with two English and two savages, went up higher in a canoe; but he was not

OLD PRINT OF SMITH'S CAPTURE.

long absent. But his men went ashore, whose want of government gave both occasion and opportunity to the savages to surprise one George Cassen, whom they slew, and much failed not[2] to have cut off the boat and all the rest. Smith, little dreaming of that accident, being got to the marshes at the river's head, twenty miles in the desert, had his two men slain, as is supposed, sleeping by the canoe, while himself, by fowling,

[1] Now Chickahominy. [2] i.e., came near doing it.

sought them victuals; who finding he was beset with two hundred savages, two of them he slew, still defending himself with the aid of a savage, his guide, whom he bound to his arms with his garters, and used him as a buckler; yet he was shot in his thigh a little, and had many arrows that stuck in his clothes, but no great hurt till at last they took him prisoner. When this news came to Jamestown, much was their sorrow for his loss, few expecting what ensued. Six or seven weeks those barbarians kept him prisoner, many strange triumphs and conjurations they made of him; yet he so demeaned himself among them, as he not only diverted them from surprising the fort, but procured his own liberty, and got himself and his company such estimation amongst them, that those savages admired him more than their own Quiyougkcosoucks.[1] The manner how they used and delivered him is as followeth.

The savages having drawn from George Cassen whither Capt. Smith was gone, prosecuting that opportunity, they followed him with three hundred bowmen, conducted by the King of Pamaunkee, who in divisions, searching the turnings of the river, found Robinson and Emry by the fireside: those they shot full of arrows, and slew. Then finding the captain, as is said, that used the savage that was his guide as his shield,—three of them being slain, and divers others so galled,—all the rest would not come near him. Thinking thus to have returned to his boat, regarding them, as he marched more than his way, slipped up to the middle in an oozy[2] creek, and his savage with him; yet durst they not come to him, till, being near dead with

[1] Lesser gods. [2] Muddy.

cold, he threw away his arms. Then according to their composition[1] they drew him forth, and led him to the fire, where his men were slain. Diligently they chafed his benumbed limbs.

He demanding for their captain, they showed him Opechankanough, King of Pamaunkee, to whom he gave a round ivory double compass-dial. Much they marvelled at the playing of the fly and needle, which they could see so plainly, and yet not touch it, because of the glass that covered them. But when he demonstrated by that globe-like jewel the roundness of the earth and skies, the sphere of the sun, moon, and stars, and how the sun did chase the night round about the world continually, the greatness of the land and sea, the diversity of nations, variety of complexions, and how we were to them antipodes, and many other such like matters, they all stood as amazed with admiration. Notwithstanding, without an hour after, they tied him to a tree, and as many as could stand about him prepared to shoot him; but, the king holding up the compass in his hand, they all laid down their bows and arrows, and in a triumphant manner led him to Orapaks, where he was after their manner kindly feasted, and well used.

Their order in conducting him was thus: drawing themselves all in file, the king in the midst, had all their pieces and swords borne before him. Captain Smith was led after him by three great savages, holding him fast by each arm; and on each side six went in file with their arrows nocked.[2] But arriving at the

[1] i.e., agreement.

[2] i.e., held with the notch against the strings, ready for use.

town, — which was only thirty or forty hunting-houses made of mats, which they remove as they please, as we our tents, — all the women and children staring to behold him, the soldiers first, all in file, performed the form of a bissom [1] so well as could be; and on each flank, officers as sergeants to see them keep their order. A good time they continued this exercise, and then cast themselves in a ring, dancing in such several postures, and singing and yelling out such hellish notes and screeches; being strangely painted, every one his quiver of arrows, and at his back a club; on his arm a fox or an otter's skin, or some such matter for his vambrace;[2] their heads and shoulders painted red with oil and pocones [3] mingled together, which scarlet-like color made an exceeding handsome show; his bow in his hand, and the skin of a bird with her wings abroad dried, tied on his head, a piece of copper, a white shell, a long feather, with a small rattle growing at the tails of their snakes tied to it, or some such like toy. All this while, Smith and the king stood in the midst, guarded, as before is said; and after three dances they all departed. Smith they conducted to a long house, where thirty or forty tall fellows did guard him; and ere long more bread and venison was brought him than would have served twenty men. I think his stomach [4] at that time was not very good: what he left they put in baskets, and tied over his head. About midnight, they set the meat again before him, all this time not

[1] "Bissom," or "Bishion," was a military term not now understood.

[2] Piece of armor to protect the lower part of the arm; from the French *avant-bras*. Smith elsewhere calls it "braces."

[3] Puccoons.

[4] i.e., appetite.

one of them would eat a bit with him, till the next morning they brought him as much more; and then did they eat all the old, and reserved the new as they had done the other, which made him think they would fat him to eat him. Yet in this desperate estate to defend him from the cold, one Maocassater brought him his gown, in requital of some beads and toys Smith had given him at his first arrival in Virginia.

IV. — Captain John Smith and Pocahontas.

[This narrative is taken from Smith's "Generall Historie." It was possibly written by Captain Smith, but is now generally disbelieved by historical students, because it is inconsistent with an earlier account of the same events, also written by Smith, and because the incident is not mentioned by Strachey, who also described the Virginia Colony.]

Two days after, a man would have slain him — but that the guard prevented it — for the death of his son, to whom they conducted him to recover the poor man, then breathing his last. Smith told them that at Jamestown he had a water would do, if they would let him fetch it. But they would not permit that, but made all the preparations they could to assault Jamestown, craving his advice, and, for recompense, he should have life, liberty, land, and women. In part of a table book[1] he wrote his mind to them at the fort, — what was intended, how they should follow that direction to affright the messengers, and without fail send him such things as he wrote for; and an inventory with them. The difficulty and danger he told the

[1] Note-book, or book containing tables.

savages, of the mines, great guns, and other engines, exceedingly affrighted them; yet, according to his request, they went to Jamestown in as bitter weather as could be of frost and snow, and within three days returned with an answer.

But when they came to Jamestown, seeing men sally out, as he had told them they would, they fled. Yet in the night they came again to the same place where he had told them they should receive an answer, and such things as he had promised them; which they found accordingly, and with which they returned, with no small expedition, to the wonder of them all that heard it, that he could either divine, or the paper could speak. . . .

Not long after, early in a morning, a great fire was made in a long house, and a mat spread on the one side as on the other. On the one they caused him to sit, and all the guard went out of the house; and presently came skipping in a great grim fellow, all painted over with coal, mingled with oil, and many snakes' and weasels' skins stuffed with moss, and all their tails tied together, so as they met on the crown of his head in a tassel. And round about the tassel was as a coronet of feathers, the skins hanging round about his head, back, and shoulders, and in a manner covered his face; with a hellish voice, and a rattle in his hand. With most strange gestures and passions, he began his invocation, and environed the fire with a circle of meal; which done, three more such like devils came rushing in with the like antic tricks, painted half black, half red; but all their eyes were painted white, and some red strokes like mustaches

along their cheeks. Round about him those fiends danced a pretty while; and then came in three more as ugly as the rest, with red eyes, and white strokes over their black faces. At last they all sat down right against him, three of them on the one hand of the chief priest, and three on the other. Then all with their rattles began a song; which ended, the chief priest laid down five wheat-corns; then straining his arms and hands with such violence that he sweat, and his veins swelled, he began a short oration: at the conclusion they all gave a short groan, and then laid down three grains more. After that began their song again, and then another oration, ever laying down so many corns as before, till they had twice encircled the fire. That done, they took a bunch of little sticks prepared for that purpose, continuing still their devotion; and at the end of every song and oration they laid down a stick betwixt the divisions of corn. Till night, neither he nor they did either eat or drink, and then they feasted merrily, with the best provisions they could make. Three days they used this ceremony, the meaning whereof, they told him, was to know if he intended them well or no. The circle of meal signified their county; the circles of corn, the boundaries of the sea; and the sticks, his country. They imagined the world to be flat and round like a trencher, and they in the middle. After this they brought him a bag of gunpowder, which they carefully preserved until the next spring, to plant, as they did their corn, because they would be acquainted with the nature of that seed. Opitchapam, the king's brother, invited him to his house, where, with as many platters of bread, fowl, and

wild beasts as did environ him, he bid him welcome; but not any of them would eat a bit with him, but put up all the remainder in baskets. . . .

FACSIMILE ILLUSTRATION FROM SMITH'S "GENERAL HISTORY."

At last they brought him to Meronocomoco,[1] where was Powhatan, their emperor. Here more than two hundred of those grim courtiers stood wondering at

[1] Sometimes called "Werawocomoco," supposed to be on the north side of Pamaunkee, now York River, at a place still called "Powhatan's Chimney."

him, as he had been a monster, till Powhatan and his train had put themselves in their greatest braveries.[1] Before a fire, upon a seat like a bedstead, he sat, covered with a great robe made of raccoon-skins, and all the tails hanging by. On either hand did sit a young wench of sixteen or eighteen years, and along on each side the house two rows of men, and behind them as many women, with all their heads and shoulders painted red, many of their heads bedecked with the white down of birds; but every one with something; and a great chain of white beads about their necks. At his entrance before the king, all the people gave a great shout. The Queen of Appamatuck[2] was appointed to bring him water to wash his hands; and another brought him a bunch of feathers, instead of a towel, to dry them. Having feasted him after the best barbarous manner they could, a long consultation was held; but the conclusion was, two great stones were brought before Powhatan. Then as many as could laid hands on him,[3] dragged him to them, and thereon laid his head; and being ready with their clubs to beat out his brains, Pocahontas, the king's dearest daughter, when no entreaty could prevail, got his head in her arms, and laid her own upon his, to save him from death.[4] Whereat

[1] Showy garments. [2] Appomattox. [3] Smith.

[4] Captain Smith, in another narrative relating to this same period, describes Pocahontas as "a child of ten years old, which, not only for feature, countenance, and proportion, much exceedeth any of the rest of his people, but for wit and spirit the only nonpareil of his country." Nonpareil means unequalled. But Strachey, the secretary of the colony, gives a less poetical description of Pocahontas, describing her as a wild and ungoverned child, playing rather rudely about the fort with other children. See an article called "The True Pocahontas," in Scribner's Monthly for May, 1876.

the emperor was contented he should live to make him hatchets, and her bells, beads, and copper; for they thought him as well[1] of all occupations as themselves. For the king himself will make his own robes, shoes, bows, arrows, pots; plant, hunt, or do any thing so well as the rest. . . .

Two days after, Powhatan, having disguised himself in the most fearfulest manner he could, caused Captain Smith to be brought forth to a great house in the woods, and there, upon a mat by the fire, to be left alone. Not long after, from behind a mat that divided the house was made the most dolefulest noise he ever heard; then Powhatan, more like a devil than a man, with some two hundred more as black as himself, came unto him, and told him now they were friends, and presently he should go to Jamestown, to send him two great guns and a grindstone, for which he would give him the country of Capahowosick, and forever esteem him as his son Nantaquond. So to Jamestown with twelve guides Powhatan sent him. That night they quartered in the woods, he still expecting — as he had done all this long time of his imprisonment — every hour to be put to one death or other, for all their feasting. But Almighty God by his divine providence had mollified the hearts of those stern barbarians with compassion. The next morning betimes, they came to the fort, where Smith, having used the savages with what kindness he could, he showed Rawhunt, Powhatan's trusty servant, two demi-culverins[2] and a millstone, to carry Powhatan. They found them somewhat too heavy; but when they did see him discharge them, being loaded with stones,

[1] i.e., as well skilled. [2] Cannon.

among the boughs of a great tree loaded with icicles, the ice and branches came so tumbling down, that the poor savages ran away half dead with fear. But at last we regained some conference [1] with them, and gave them such toys, and sent to Powhatan, his women, and children, such presents, as gave them, in general, full content.

V. — King Powhatan.

He is a goodly old man, not yet shrinking, though well beaten with many cold and stormy winters, in which he hath been patient of many necessities and attempts of his fortune to make his name and family great. He is supposed to be little less than eighty years old, I dare not say how much more. Others say he is of a tall stature and clean limbs, of a sad aspect, round, fat-visaged, with gray hairs, but plain and thin, hanging upon his broad shoulders; some few hairs upon his chin, and so on his upper lip. He hath been a strong and able savage, sinewy, and of a daring spirit, vigilant, ambitious, subtile to enlarge his dominions. . . . Cruel he hath been, and quarrelsome, as well with his own *weroances* [2] for trifles, and that to strike a terror and awe into them of his power and condition, as also with his neighbors, in his younger days, though now delighted in security and pleasure. . . .

Watchful he is over us, and keeps good espial [3] upon our proceedings, concerning which he hath his sentinels, that — at what time soever any of our boats, pin-

[1] i.e., resumed our interview.
[2] Subordinate chiefs. [3] Watch.

naces, or ships come in, fall down, or make up the river — give the alarm, and take it quickly one from the other, until it reach and come even to the court or hunting-house, wheresoever he and his *cronoccoes*, that is, councillors and priests, are; and then he calls to advise, and gives out directions what is to be done. . . . About his person ordinarily attendeth a guard of forty or fifty of the tallest men his country do afford. Every night, upon the four quarters of his house, are four sentinels drawn forth, each standing from other a flight-shot;[1] and at every half-hour, one from the *corps de garde*[2] doth halloo, unto whom every sentinel returns answer round from his stand: if any fail, an officer is presently sent forth that beateth him extremely.

The word *weroance*, which we call and construe for a king, is a common word, whereby they call all commanders; for they have but few words in their language, and but few occasions to use any officers more than one commander, which commonly they call *weroance*.

It is strange to see with what great fear and adoration all this people do obey this Powhatan; for at his feet they present whatsoever he commandeth: and at the least frown of his brow the greatest will tremble, it may be because he is very terrible and inexorable in punishing such as offend him. . . . And sure it is to be wondered at, how such a barbarous and uncivil prince should take unto him — adorned and set forth with no great outward ornament and munificence — a form and ostentation of such majesty as he expresseth, which oftentimes strikes awe and sufficient wonder in our people presenting themselves before him.

[1] Arrow-shot, or bow-shot. [2] Body-guard.

VI. — A Virginia Princess.

Nor is [she] so handsome a savage woman as I have seen amongst them, yet with a kind of pride can take upon her a show of greatness; for we have seen her forbear to come out of her *quintan*, or boat, through the water, as the other, both maids and married women, usually do, unless she were carried forth between two of her servants. I was once early at her house — it being summer time — when she was laid without doors, under the shadow of a broad-leaved tree, upon a pallet of osiers, spread over with four or five fine gray mats, herself covered with a fair white dressed deerskin or two; and, when she rose, she had a maid who fetched her a frontall[1] of white coral, and pendants of great but imperfect colored and worse drilled pearls, which she put into her ears, and a chain with long links of copper, which they call *tapoantaminais*, and which came twice or thrice about her neck, and they account a jolly ornament. And sure thus attired, with some variety of feathers and flowers stuck in their hairs, they seem as debonaire, quaint, and well pleased as . . . a daughter of the house of Austria[2] decked with all her jewels. Likewise, her maid fetched her a mantle, which they call *puttawus*, which is like a side cloak, made of blue feathers, so artificially and thick sewed together, that it seemed like a deep purple satin, and is very smooth and sleek; and after, she brought her water for her hands, and then a branch or two of fresh green ashen leaves, as for a towel to dry them.

[1] Ornament for the forehead, or front. [2] An Austrian princess.

VII. — An Indian Dance in Virginia.

As for their dancing, the sport seems unto them, and the use, almost as frequent and necessary as their meat and drink, in which they consume much time, and for which they appoint many and often meetings, and have therefore, as it were, set orgies[1] or festivals for the same pastime, as have yet at this day the merry Greeks.

INDIAN DANCE.

. . . At our colony's first sitting down amongst them, when any of our people repaired[2] to their towns, the Indians would not think they had expressed their welcome sufficiently enough, until they had showed them a dance, the manner of which is thus. One of them standeth by, with some fur or leather thing in his left hand, upon which he beats with his right hand, and sings withal, as if he began the choir, and kept unto the rest their just time; when upon a certain stroke or more, — as upon his cue or time to come in, — one riseth up,

[1] Regular entertainments. [2] Went.

and begins to dance. After he hath danced a while, steps forth another, as if he came in just upon his rest; and in this order all of them, so many as there be, one after another, who then dance an equal distance from each other in ring, shouting, howling, and stamping their feet against the ground with such force and pain, that they sweat again, and with all varieties of strange mimic tricks and distorted faces, making so confused a yell and noise as so many frantic and disquieted bacchanals; and sure they will keep strake just with their feet to the time he gives, and just one with another, but with the hands, head, face, and body, every one hath a several gesture. And those who have seen the dervishes in their holy dances, in their mosques, upon Wednesdays and Fridays in Turkey, may resemble[1] these unto them. You shall find the manner expressed in the figure.

VIII. — Indian Children in Virginia.

To make the children hardy, in the coldest mornings they wash them in the rivers, and by paintings and ointments so tan their skins, that, after a year or two, no weather will hurt them. As also, to practise their children in the use of their bows and arrows, the mothers do not give them their breakfast in a morning before they have hit a mark which she appoints them to shoot at; and commonly, so cunning they will have them, as throwing up in the air a piece of moss, or some such light thing, the boy must with his arrow meet it in the fall, and hit it, or else he shall not have his breakfast.

[1] Compare.

Both men, women, and children have their several names; at first, according to the several humor of their parents. And for the men-children, at first, when they are young, their mothers give them a name, calling them by some affectionate title, or, perhaps, observing their promising inclination, give it accordingly; and so the great King Powhatan called a young daughter of his whom he loved well, Pocahontas, which may signify "little wanton;"[1] howbeit, she was rightly called Amonate at more ripe years. When they become able to travel into the woods, and to go forth a hunting, fowling, and fishing with their fathers, the fathers give him another name, as he finds him apt, and of spirit to prove toward[2] and valiant, or otherwise, changing the mother's [name], which yet in the family is not so soon forgotten. And if so be, it be by agility, strength, or any extraordinary strain of wit, he performs any remarkable or valorous exploit in open act of arms, or by stratagem, especially in the time of extremity in the wars for the public and common state, upon the enemy, the king, taking notice of the same, doth then, not only in open view and solemnly, reward him with some present of copper, or chain of pearl and beads, but doth then likewise — and which they take for the most eminent and supreme favor — [illegible] him a name answerable to the attempt, not r[illegible]ring herein from the ancient warlike encourag[illegible] order of the Romans to a well-deserving and [illegible]oung spirit.

[1] Gay, or fi[illegible]

[2] Capable.

IX. — "THE PLANTER'S PLEASURE AND PROFIT."

THERE are who delight extremely in vain pleasure, that take much more pains in England to enjoy it than I should do here to gain wealth sufficient: and yet I think they should not have half such sweet content; for our pleasure here is still gain, in England charges and loss. Here nature and liberty afford us that freely which in England we want, or it costeth us dearly. What pleasure can be more than being tired with any occasion ashore, in planting vines, fruits, or herbs; in contriving their own ground to the pleasure of their own minds, their fields, gardens, orchards, buildings, ships, and other works, &c.; to recreate themselves before their own doors, in their own boats upon the sea, where man, woman, and child, with a small hook and line, by angling, may take divers sorts of excellent fish at their pleasures? And is it not pretty sport to pull up twopence, sixpence, and twelvepence as fast as you can haul and veer a line? He is a very bad fisher [who] cannot kill in one day, with his hook and line, one, two, or three hundred cods; which dressed and dried, if they be sold there for ten shillings a hundred, though in England they will give more than twenty, may not both servant, master, and merchant be well content with this gain? If a man work but three days in seven, he may get more than he can spend, unless he will be exceedingly excessive. Now that carpenter, mason, gardener, tailor, smith, sailor, forger, or what other — may they not make this a very pretty recreation, though they fish but an hour in a day, to take more than they can

eat in a week; or if they will not eat it, because there is so much better choice, yet sell it, or change it with the fishermen or merchants, for any thing you want? And what sport doth yield a more pleasing content, and less hurt and charge, than angling with a hook, and crossing the sweet air from isle to isle, over the silent streams of a calm sea, wherein the most curious may find profit, pleasure, and content?

Thus, though all men be not fishers, yet all men whatsoever may in other matters do as well, for necessity doth in these cases so rule a commonwealth, and each in their several functions, as their labors, in their qualities, may be as profitable, because there is a necessary mutual use of all.

For gentlemen, what exercise should more delight them than ranging daily these unknown parts, using fowling and fishing for[1] hunting and hawking? and yet you shall see the wild hawks give you some pleasure in seeing them stoop six or seven times after one another, an hour or two together, at the skults[2] of fish in the fair harbors, as those ashore at a fowl, and never trouble nor torment yourselves with watching, mewing,[3] feeding, and attending them, nor kill horse and man with running, and crying, "See you not a hawk?" For hunting, also, the woods, lakes, and rivers afford not only chase sufficient for any that delights in that kind of toil or pleasure, but such beasts to hunt, that, besides the delicacy of their bodies for food, their skins are so rich as they will recompense thy daily labor with a captain's pay.

[1] i.e., instead of. [2] Shoals. [3] Confining.

X. — The Glories of Fishing.

The main staple from hence to be extracted, for the present, to produce the rest, is fish; which, however it may seem a mean and base commodity, yet who will but truly take the pains, and consider the sequel, I think will allow it well worth the labor. It is strange to see

COD-FISHING.

what great adventures the hopes of setting forth men-of-war to rob the industrious innocent would procure. . . . But who doth not know that the poor Hollanders, chiefly by fishing, at a great charge and labor, in all weathers in the open sea, are made a people so hardy and industrious? and by the sending this poor commodity to the Easterlings[1] for as mean,[2] which is wood, flax, pitch, tar, rosin, cordage, and such like, —

[1] Eastern merchants, as the Germans and Danes.

[2] i.e., for other commodities as mean.

which they exchange again to the French, Spaniards, Portuguese, and English, &c., for what they want, — are made so mighty, strong, and rich, as no state but Venice, of twice their magnitude, is so well furnished with so many fair cities, goodly towns, strong fortresses, and that abundance of shipping and all sorts of merchandise, as well of gold, silver, diamonds, precious stones, silks, velvets, and cloth-of-gold, as fish, pitch, wood, or such gross commodities? What voyages and discoveries, east and west, north and south, yea, about the world, make they! What an army, by sea and land, have they long maintained in despite of one of the greatest princes of the world! And never could the Spaniard, with all his mines of gold and silver, pay his debts, his friends and army, half so truly as the Hollanders still have done by this contemptible trade of fish. . . .

You shall scarce find any bay, shallow shore, or cove of sand, where you may not take many clams, or lobsters, or both, at your pleasure, and in many places load your boat, if you please; nor isles where you find not fruits, birds, crabs, and mussels, or all of them, for taking, at a low water. And, in the harbors we frequented, a little boy might take of cunners and pinnacks,[1] and such delicate fish, at the ship's stern, more than six or ten can eat in a day, but with a casting-net, thousands when we pleased; and scarce any place, but cod, cusk, halibut, mackerel, skate, or such like, a man may take with a hook or line what he will. And in divers sandy bays a man may draw with a net great store of mullets, bass, and divers other sorts of such

[1] Pollocks.

excellent fish, as many as his net can draw on shore. No river where there is not plenty of sturgeon, or salmon, or both; all which are to be had in abundance, observing but their seasons. But if a man will go at Christmas to gather cherries in Kent, he may be deceived, though there be plenty in summer. So here these plenties have each their seasons, as I have expressed. We, for the most part, had little but bread and vinegar; and though the most part of July, when the fishing decayed, they wrought[1] all day, lay abroad in the isles all night, and lived on what they found, yet were not sick. But I would wish none put himself long to such plunges, except necessity constrain it. Yet worthy is that person to starve that here cannot live, if he have sense, strength, and health.

XI. — Visit of Pocahontas to London in 1617.

During this time, the Lady Rebecca, alias Pocahontas, daughter to Powhatan, by the diligent care of Master John Rolfe, her husband, and his friends, was taught to speak such English as might well be understood, well instructed in Christianity, and was become very formal and civil after our English manner. She had also, by him, a child, which she loved most dearly; and the treasurer and company took order, both for the maintenance of her and it. Besides, there were divers persons of great rank and quality had been very kind to her; and, before she arrived at London, Captain Smith, to deserve her former courtesies, made

[1] Worked.

her qualities known to the queen's most excellent majesty and her court, and wrote a little book to this effect to the queen, an abstract whereof followeth: —

TO THE MOST HIGH AND VIRTUOUS PRINCESS, QUEEN ANNE OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Most Admired Queen, — The love I bear my God, my king and country, hath so oft emboldened me in the worst of extreme dangers, that now honesty doth constrain me [to] presume thus far beyond myself to present your Majesty this short discourse. If ingratitude be a deadly poison to all honest virtue, I must be guilty of that crime, if I should omit any means to be thankful. So it is,

That some ten years ago, being in Virginia, and taken prisoner by the power of Powhatan, their chief king, I received from this great savage exceeding great courtesy, especially from his son Nantaquond, the most manliest, comeliest, boldest spirit I ever saw in a savage, and his sister Pocahontas, the king's most dear and well-beloved daughter, — being but a child of twelve or thirteen years of age, whose compassionate, pitiful heart of my desperate estate gave me much cause to respect her, I being the first Christian this proud king and his grim attendants ever saw. And, thus enthralled in their barbarous power, I cannot say I felt the least occasion of want that was in the power of those my mortal foes to prevent, notwithstanding all their threats. After some six weeks' fatting amongst those savage courtiers, at the minute of my execution, she hazarded the beating out of her own brains to save mine; and not only that, but so prevailed with

her father, that I was safely conducted to Jamestown, where I found about eight and thirty miserable, poor, and sick creatures, to keep possession of all those large territories of Virginia. Such was the weakness of this poor commonwealth, as, had the savages not fed us, we directly had starved.

And this relief, most gracious Queen, was commonly brought us by this lady, Pocahontas. Notwithstanding all these passages, when inconstant fortune turned our peace to war, this tender virgin would still not spare to dare to visit us, and by her our jars have been oft appeased, and our wants still supplied. Were it the policy of her father thus to employ her, or the ordinance of God thus to make her his instrument, or her extraordinary affection to our nation, I know not. But of this I am sure; when her father, with the utmost of his policy and power, sought to surprise me, having but eighteen with me, the dark night could not affright her from coming through the irksome woods; and with watered eyes gave me intelligence, with her best advice to escape his fury, which had he known, he had surely slain her. Jamestown, with her wild train, she as freely frequented as her father's habitation; and, during the time of two or three years, she, next under God, was still the instrument to preserve

POCAHONTAS.

this colony from death, famine, and utter confusion, which, if in those times, had once been dissolved, Virginia might have lain as it was at our first arrival to this day. Since then, this business having been turned and varied by many accidents from that I left it at, it is most certain, after a long and troublesome war after my departure, betwixt her father and our colony, all which time she was not heard of, about two years after, she herself was taken prisoner, being so detained near two years longer. The colony by that means was relieved, peace concluded, and at last, rejecting her barbarous condition, [she] was married to an English gentleman, with whom at this present she is in England; the first Christian ever of that nation, the first Virginian ever spoke English, or had a child in marriage by an Englishman, — a matter surely, if my meaning be truly considered and well understood, worthy a princess' understanding.

Thus, most gracious lady, I have related to your Majesty, what, at your best leisure, our approved histories will account you at large, and done in the time of your Majesty's life; and, however this might be presented you from a more worthy pen, it cannot from a more honest heart. As yet I never begged any thing of the state, or any; and if my want of ability, and her exceeding desert, your birth, means, and authority, her birth, virtue, want, and simplicity, doth make me thus bold, humbly to beseech your Majesty to take this knowledge of her, though it be from one so unworthy to be the reporter as myself . . . And so I humbly kiss your gracious hands.

Being about this time preparing to set sail for New

England, I could not stay to do her that service I desired, and she well deserved; but, hearing she was at Branford with divers of my friends, I went to see her. After a modest salutation, without any word, she turned about, obscured her face, as not seeming well contented; and in that humor her husband, with divers others, we all left her two or three hours, repenting myself to have written she could speak English. But not long after, she began to talk, and remembered me well what courtesies she had done, saying, "You did promise Powhatan what was yours should be his, and he the like to you. You called him father, being in his land a stranger, and by the same reason so must I do you." Which, though I would have excused, I durst not allow of that title, because she was a king's daughter. With a well-set countenance she said, "Were you not afraid to come into my father's country, and caused fear in him and all his people, — but me, — and fear you here I should call you father? I tell you, then, I will, and you shall call me child; and so I will be for ever and ever your countryman. They did tell us always you were dead; and I knew no other till I came to Plymouth. Yet Powhatan did command Vetamatomakkin to seek you, and know the truth, because your countrymen will lie much."

This savage, one of Powhatan's council, being amongst them held an understanding fellow, the king purposely sent him to number the people here, and inform him well what we were, and our state. Arriving at Plymouth, according to his directions, he got a long stick, whereon by notches he did think to have kept the number of all the men he could see; but he was quickly

weary of that task. Coming to London, where by chance I met him, having renewed our acquaintance, where many were desirous to hear and see his behavior, he told me Powhatan did bid him to find me out, to show him our God, the king, queen, and prince I so much had told them of. Concerning God I told him the best I could; the king I heard he had seen; and the rest he should see when he would. He denied ever to have seen the king, till by circumstances he was satisfied he had. Then he replied very sadly, "You gave Powhatan a white dog, which Powhatan fed as himself; but your king gave me nothing, and I am better than your white dog."

The small time I staid in London, divers courtiers and others my acquaintances hath gone with me to see her, that generally concluded they did think God had a great hand in her conversion; and they have seen many English ladies worse favored, proportioned, and behaved. And, as since I have heard, it pleased both the king's and queen's Majesty honorably to esteem her, accompanied with that honorable lady, the Lady De la Ware, and that honorable lord, her husband, and divers other persons of good qualities, both publicly at the masques, and otherwise, to her great satisfaction and content; which doubtless she would have deserved, had she lived to arrive in Virginia.

The treasurer, council, and company having well furnished Captain Samuel Argall, the lady Pocahontas *alias* Rebecca, with her husband and others, in the good ship called "The George," it pleased God at Gravesend to take this young lady to his mercy, where she made

not more sorrow for her unexpected death than joy to the beholders to hear and see her make so religious and godly an end. Her little child, Thomas Rolfe, therefore was left at Plymouth with Sir Lewis Stukely that desired the keeping of it.

XII. — First Buildings of the Virginia Colonists.

[This description was written by Smith in the last year of his life, — 1631.]

When I went first to Virginia, I well remember we did hang an awning — which is an old sail — to three or four trees to shadow us from the sun. Our walls were rails of wood, our seats unhewed trees till we cut planks, our pulpit a bar of wood nailed to two neighboring trees. In foul weather we shifted into an old rotten tent, for we had few better; and this came by the way of adventure[1] for new. This was our church till we built a homely thing like a barn, set upon crotchets, covered with rafts, sedge, and earth: so was also the walls. The best of our houses [were] of the like curiosity,[2] but the most part far much worse workmanship, that could neither well defend[3] wind nor rain; yet we had daily common prayer morning and evening, every Sunday two sermons, and every three months the holy communion, till our minister died. But our prayers daily, with an homily on Sundays, we continued two or three years after, till more preachers came. . . .

Notwithstanding, out of the relics of our miseries, time and experience had brought that country to a

[1] Trade. [2] Equally curious. [3] Keep out.

great happiness, had they not so much doted on their tobacco, on whose fumish[1] foundation there is small stability; there being so many good commodities besides.

XIII. — Captain John Smith's Recollections of his own Life.

[Also written in the last year of his life, — 1631.]

The wars in Europe, Asia, and Africa, taught me how to subdue the wild savages in Virginia and New England in America. . . . Having been a slave to the Turks, prisoner amongst the most barbarous savages; after my deliverance commonly discovering and ranging those large rivers and unknown nations, with such a handful of ignorant companions, that the wiser sort often gave me for lost; always in mutinies, wants, and miseries; blown up with gunpowder; a long time prisoner among the French pirates, from whom escaping in a little boat by myself, and adrift all such a stormy winter night, when their ships were split, more than an hundred thousand pound lost, we had taken at sea, and most of them drowned upon the Isle of Ree,[2] not far from whence I was driven on shore in my little boat, &c.; and many a score of the worst of winter months lived in the fields; yet to have lived near thirty-seven years in the midst of wars, pestilence, and famine, by which many an hundred thousand have died about me, and scarce five living of them went first with me to Virginia, and see the fruits

[1] Smoky. [2] Ré or Rhé.

of my labors thus well begin to prosper, — though I have but my labor for my pains, have I not much reason both privately and publicly to acknowledge it, and give God thanks, whose omnipotent power only delivered me to do the utmost of my best to make his name known in those remote parts of the world, and his loving mercy to such a miserable sinner?

BOOK XII.

CHAMPLAIN ON THE WAR-PATH.

(A.D. 1609.)

This passage is taken from "Voyages de la Nouvelle France, par le Sieur de Champlain," Paris, 1632, as translated in O'Callaghan's "Documentary History of the State of New York," vol. iii. p. 3.

Parkman gives a full account of Champlain's adventures, in the latter half of his "Pioneers of France in the New World," from p. 165 onward.

CHAMPLAIN ON THE WAR-PATH.

Champlain on the War-Path.

[This narrative is of great interest, as showing the mode of early Indian warfare, and the way in which the French at once modified it by teaching them the use of fire-arms. It also illustrates the way in which the French explored the interior of the country, even before the English had colonized the coasts, thus giving rise to that dispute out of which grew the series of French and Indian wars. Samuel de Champlain first sailed for America in 1603, and was the founder and governor of Quebec]

I LEFT the rapid[1] of the said River of the Iroquois on the 2d of July (1609). All the savages[2] began carrying their canoes, arms, and traps over land, about a league and a half, to avoid the current and force of the rapid. This was quickly effected.

They immediately launched the canoes into the water, two men in each with their baggage, whilst one of the men went by land about a league and a half, which was the probable extent of said rapid, though not so violent as at the foot, except at some points where rocks obstructed the river, which is no more

[1] Now Chambly, Canada East. [2] A tribe of Algonquins.

than three to four hundred paces wide. After the rapid was passed, though not without trouble, all the Indians who had gone by land over a pretty good road and level country, though covered with timber, re-embarked in their canoes. My men were also on land, and I on the water, in a canoe. They reviewed all their force, and found twenty four canoes with sixty men. After having completed their review, we continued our journey as far as an island, three leagues long, covered with the finest pines I ever beheld. They hunted, and caught some wild animals there. Passing thence about three leagues farther on, we camped, in order to rest for the night.

CHAMPLAIN.

Forthwith some began to cut down timber, others to pull off bark to cover lodges to shelter them, others to fell large trees with which to barricade their lodges on the shore. They know so well how to construct these barricades, that five hundred of their enemies would find considerable difficulty in forcing them, in less than two hours, without great loss. They do not fortify the side of the river along which their canoes are ranged, so as to be able to embark, should occasion require.

After they had camped, they despatched three canoes with nine good men, as is their custom at all their encampments, to reconnoitre within two or three leagues, if they see any thing; after which they retire. They

depend the whole night on the exploration of the vanguard, which is a bad habit of theirs; for sometimes their enemies surprise them asleep, and kill them, without [their] having an opportunity of recovering their feet to defend themselves.

Remarking that, I remonstrated with them against the error they committed; told them to watch, as they saw us do, all night, and to have outposts to spy and see if they could perceive any thing, and not to live in that style, like cattle. They told me they couldn't watch, and that they labored all day hunting. So that, when they go to war, they divide their force into three: to wit, one party, scattered in divers places, hunting; another forms the main body, which is always under arms; and another party as a vanguard, to scout along the river, and see whether they will not discover some trail or mark indicating the passage of friends or enemies. This they ascertain by certain marks the chiefs of one nation give to those of another, which are not always alike, notifying each other from time to time when they alter any. By this means, they recognize whether those who have passed are friends or enemies.

The hunters never hunt in advance of the main body, or the scouts, so as not to create any alarm or disorder, but in the rear, and in the direction where they do not apprehend enemies. They thus continue until they are two or three days' journey from the foe, when they advance stealthily by night, all in a body, except the scouts, and retire by day into the picket-fort, where they repose, without wandering abroad, making any noise, or building a fire, even for cooking, during that

time, so as not to be discovered, should their enemies happen to pass. The only fire they make is to smoke. They eat dried Indian meal, which they steep in water, like porridge. They prepare this meal for use when they are pinched, and when they are near the enemy, or when retreating. After these attacks, they do not amuse themselves hunting, retreating precipitately. . . .

We left next day, continuing our route along the river as far as the lake.[1] Here are a number of beautiful but low islands, filled with very fine woods and prairies, a quantity of game and wild animals, such as stags, deer, fawns, roebucks, bears, and other sorts of animals that come from the mainland to the said islands. We caught a quantity of them. There is also quite a number of beavers, as well in the river as in several other streams which fall into it. These parts, though agreeable, are not inhabited by any Indians, in consequence of their wars. They retire from the rivers as far as possible, deep into the country, in order not to be so soon discovered.

Next day, we entered the lake, which is of considerable extent, some fifty or sixty leagues, where I saw four beautiful islands, ten, twelve, and fifteen leagues in length, formerly inhabited, as well as the Iroquois River, by Indians, but abandoned since they have been at war the one with the other. Several rivers, also, discharge into the lake, surrounded by a number of fine trees similar to those we have in France, with a quantity of vines handsomer than any I ever saw; a great many chestnuts; and I had not yet seen, except

[1] Lake Champlain.

the margin of the lake, where there is a larger abundance of fish of divers species. Among the rest there is one called by the Indians of the country *chaousarou*,[1] of divers lengths. The largest, I was informed by the people, are of eight to ten feet. I saw one of five, as thick as a thigh, with a head as big as two fists, with jaws two feet and a half long, and a double set of very sharp and dangerous teeth. The form of the body resembles that of the pike; and it is armed with scales that the thrust of a poniard cannot pierce; and it is of a silver gray-color. The point of the snout is like that of a hog. This fish makes war on all others in the lakes and rivers, and possesses, as these people assure, a wonderful instinct; which is, that, when it wants to catch any birds, it goes among the rushes or reeds bordering the lake in many places, keeping the beak out of the water without budging; so that when birds perch on the beak, imagining it a limb of a tree, it is so subtle, that, closing the jaws which it keeps half open, it draws the birds under water by the feet. The Indians gave me a head of it, which they prize highly, saying, when they have a headache, they let blood with the teeth of this fish at the seat of the pain, which immediately goes away.

Continuing our route along the west side of the lake, contemplating the country, I saw on the east side very high mountains capped with snow. I asked the Indians if those parts were inhabited. They answered me yes, and that they were Iroquois, and that there were in those parts beautiful valleys, and fields fertile in corn as good as I had ever eaten in the country, with an

[1] The gar-fish, or bony pike.

infinitude of other fruits; and that the lake extended close to the mountains, which were, according to my judgment, fifteen leagues from us. I saw others to the south, not less high than the former; only that they were without snow. The Indians told me it was there we were to go to meet their enemies, and that they were thickly inhabited, and that we must pass by a waterfall,[1] which I afterwards saw, and thence enter another lake[2] three or four leagues long; and, having arrived at its head, there were four leagues overland to be travelled to pass to a river[3] which flows towards the coast of the Almouchiquois, tending towards that of the Almouchiquois,[4] and they were only two days going there in their canoes, as I understood since from some prisoners we took, who, by means of some Algonquin interpreters who were acquainted with the Iroquois language, conversed freely with me about all they had noticed.

Now, on coming within about two or three days' journey of the enemy's quarters, we travelled only by night, and rested by day. Nevertheless, they never omitted their usual superstitions to ascertain whether their enterprise would be successful, and often asked me whether I had dreamed, and seen their enemies. I answered No, and encouraged them, and gave them good hopes. Night fell, and we continued our journey until morning, when we withdrew into the picket-fort to pass the remainder of the day there. About ten or eleven o'clock, I lay down, after having walked some time around our quarters; and, falling asleep, I thought

[1] Ticonderoga. [2] Lake George.
[3] Hudson River. [4] Indians east of Cape Cod.

I beheld our enemies, the Iroquois, drowning within sight of us in the lake near a mountain; and being desirous to save them, that our savage allies told me that I must let them all perish, as they were good for nothing. On awaking, they did not omit, as usual, to ask me if I had any dream. I did tell them, in fact, what I had dreamed. It gained such credit among them, that they no longer doubted but they should meet with success.

At nightfall we embarked in our canoes to continue our journey, and, as we advanced very softly and noiselessly, we encountered a war-party of Iroquois, on the 29th of the month, about ten o'clock at night, at the point of a cape which juts into the lake on the west side. They and we began to shout, each seizing his arms. We withdrew towards the water; and the Iroquois repaired on shore, and arranged all their canoes, the one beside the other, and began to hew down trees with villanous axes which they sometimes got in war, and other of stone, and fortified themselves very securely. Our party likewise kept their canoes arranged, the one alongside the other, tied to poles so as not to run adrift, in order to fight all together, should need be. We were on the water about an arrow-shot from their barricades.

When they were armed and in order, they sent two canoes from the fleet, to know if their enemies wished to fight; who answered they desired nothing else, but that just then there was not much light, and that we must wait for day to distinguish each other, and that they would give us battle at sunrise. This was agreed to by our party. Meanwhile the whole night was spent

in dancing and singing, as well on one side as on the other, mingled with an infinitude of insults and other taunts; such as the little courage they had, how powerless their resistance against their arms, and, that when day would break, they should experience this to their ruin. Ours, likewise, did not fail in repartee, telling they should witness the effect of arms they had never seen before; and a multitude of other speeches, as is usual at a siege of a town. After the one and the other had sung, danced, and parliamented[1] enough, day broke. My companions and I were always concealed, for fear the enemy should see us preparing our arms the best we could, being, however, separated, each in one of the canoes belonging to the savage *Montagnars*.[2]

After being equipped with light armor, we took each an arquebuse, and went ashore. I saw the enemy leave their barricade. They were about two hundred men, of strong and robust appearance, who were coming slowly toward us, with a gravity and assurance which greatly pleased me, led on by three chiefs. Ours were marching in similar order, and told me that those who bore three lofty plumes were the chiefs, and that there were but these three, and they were to be recognized by those plumes, which were considerably larger than those of their companions, and that I must do all I could to kill them. I promised to do what I could, and that I was very sorry they could not clearly understand me, so as to give them the order and plan of attacking their enemies, as we should indubitably defeat them all, — but there was no help for that, — that I

[1] Parleyed or discussed.

[2] A name given to all the St. Lawrence Indians.

CHAMPLAIN ON THE WAR-PATH.

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was very glad to encourage them, and to manifest to them my good-will when we should be engaged.

The moment we landed, they began to run about two hundred paces towards their enemies, who stood firm, and had not yet perceived my companions, who went into the bush with some savages. Ours commenced calling me in a loud voice, and, making way for me, opened in two, and placed me at their head, marching about twenty paces in advance, until I was within thirty paces of the enemy. The moment they saw me they halted, gazing at me, and I at them. When I saw them preparing to shoot at us, I raised my arquebuse, and, aiming directly at one of the three chiefs, two of them fell to the ground by this shot, and one of their companions received a wound of which he died afterwards. I had put four balls in my arquebuse. Ours, on witnessing a shot so favorable for them, set up such tremendous shouts, that thunder could not have been heard; and yet there was no lack of arrows on one side and the other.

The Iroquois were greatly astonished, seeing two men killed so instantaneously, notwithstanding they were provided with arrow-proof armor, woven of cotton thread and wood: this frightened them very much. Whilst I was reloading, one of my companions in the bush fired a shot, which so astonished them anew, seeing their chiefs slain, that they lost courage, took to flight, and abandoned the field and their fort, hiding themselves in the depths of the forest, whither pursuing them, I killed some others. Our savages also killed several of them, and took ten or twelve prisoners. The rest carried off the wounded. Fifteen or sixteen of ours were wounded by arrows: they were promptly cured.

After having gained the victory, they amused themselves plundering Indian corn and meal from the enemy, also their arms which they had thrown away in order to run better. And having feasted, danced, and sung, we returned three hours afterwards with the prisoners.

The place where this battle was fought is in forty-three degrees some minutes latitude; and I named it Lake Champlain.

BOOK XIII.

HENRY HUDSON AND THE NEW NETHERLANDS.

(A.D. 1609–1626.)

The extracts relating to Henry Hudson are reprinted from a very valuable book, containing many original documents in regard to him, and entitled "Henry Hudson the Navigator. The original documents in which his career is recorded . . . with an Introduction by G. M. Asher, LL.D." London, Hakluyt Society, 1859, pp. 77–93, 174–179, 117–123. The same narratives may be found in Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. iii.

There is a Life of Henry Hudson by Henry R. Cleveland in Sparks's "American Biography," vol. x. Brodhead's "History of New York" and O'Callaghan's "History of New Netherlands" also contain much information concerning him.

To show the result of Hudson's discoveries, I give also a series of extracts from early Dutch chronicles, describing in quaint language the first founding of the New Netherlands. It is translated from Wassenaer's "Historie van Europa" (Amsterdam, 1621–1632), and is taken from O'Callaghan's "Documentary History of the State of New York," vol. iii. pp. 27–28, 42–44.

HENRY HUDSON AND THE NEW NETHERLANDS.

I. — Discovery of the Hudson River.

[Hudson sailed from Amsterdam, on his third voyage, March 25, 1609. These extracts are from the diary of Robert Juet, one of his men, beginning on the day when they saw Sandy Hook, at the entrance of what is now New York harbor, Sept. 2, 1609.]

THEN the sun arose, and we steered away north again, and saw the land from the west by north, to the north-west by north, all like broken islands;[1] and our soundings were eleven and ten fathoms.[2] Then we luffed[3] in for the shore, and fair by the shore we had seven fathoms. The course along the land we found to be north-east by north from the land which we had first sight of, until we came to a great lake of water, as we could judge it to be, being drowned land,[4] which made it to rise like islands, which was in length ten leagues. The mouth of that land hath many shoals, and the sea breaketh on them as it is cast out of the mouth of it. And from that lake or

[1] Sandy Hook.
[2] A fathom is six feet.
[3] Sailed to windward.
[4] Flats covered by the tide.

bay, the land lieth north by east, and we had a great stream out of the bay; and from thence our sounding was ten fathoms two leagues from the land. . . . The 3d [September] the morning misty until ten of the clock; then it cleared, and the wind came to the south south-east: so we weighed, and stood to the northward. The land is very pleasant and high, and bold to fall withal.[1]

At three of the clock in the afternoon we came to three great rivers. So we stood along to the northernmost, thinking to have gone into it; but we found it to have a very shoal bar before it, for we had but ten foot water. Then we cast about to the southward, and found two fathoms, three fathoms, and three and a quarter, till we came to the souther side of them; then we had five and six fathoms, and anchored. So we sent in our boat to sound; and they found no less water than four, five, six, and seven fathoms, and returned in an hour and a half. So we weighed and went in, and rode in five fathoms, ooze ground, and saw salmons and mullets, and rays very great. The height[2] is 40° 30′.

The 4th, in the morning, as soon as the day was light, we saw that it was good riding[3] farther up. So we sent our boat to sound, and found that it was a very good harbor, and four and five fathoms two cables' length from the shore. Then we weighed, and went in with our ship. Then our boat went on[4] land with our net to fish, and caught ten great mullets of a foot and a half long apiece, and a ray as great as four

[1] i.e., conspicuous to approach.
[2] North latitude.
[3] Anchorage.
[4] To.

men could haul into the ship. So we trimmed our boat, and rode still all day. At night, the wind blew hard at the north-west, and our anchor came home;[1] and we drove on shore, but took no hurt, thanked be God! for the ground is soft sand and ooze. This day the people of the country came aboard of us, seeming very glad of our coming, and brought green tobacco, and gave us of it for knives and beads. They go in deerskins, loose, well dressed. They have yellow copper. They desire clothes, and are very civil. They have great stores of maize or Indian wheat, whereof they make good bread. The country is full of great and tall oaks.

The 5th in the morning, as soon as the day was light, the wind ceased, and the flood[2] came. So we heaved off our ship again into five fathoms water, and sent our boat to sound the bay; and we found that there was three fathoms [depth] hard by the souther shore. Our men went on land there, and saw great store of men, women, and children, who gave them tobacco at their coming on land. So they went up into the woods, and saw great store of very goodly oaks, and some currants. For one of them came aboard, and brought some dried, and gave me some, which were sweet and good. This day many of the people came aboard, some in mantles of feathers, and some in skins of divers sorts of good furs. Some women also came to us with hemp. They had red copper tobacco-pipes; and other things of copper they did wear about their necks. At night they went on land again: so we rode very quiet, but durst not trust them.

[1] i.e., did not hold. [2] Flood-tide.

The 6th in the morning was fair weather; and our master sent John Colman with four other men in our boat, over to the north side to sound the other river, being four leagues from us. They found by the way shoal water, two fathoms, but at the north of the river eighteen and twenty fathoms, and very good riding for ships, and a narrow river to the westward between two islands. The lands, they told us, were as pleasant with grass and flowers and goodly trees as ever they had seen, and very sweet smells came from them. So they went in two leagues, and saw an open sea, and returned; and, as they came back, they were set upon by two canoes, the one having twelve, the other fourteen men. The night came on, and it began to rain, so that their match [1] went out; and they had one man slain in the fight, — which was an Englishman named John Colman, — with an arrow shot into his throat, and two more hurt. It grew so dark, that they could not find the ship that night, but labored to and fro on their oars. They had so great a stream, that their grapnel [2] would not hold them.

The 7th was fair, and by ten of the clock they returned aboard the ship, and brought our dead man with them, whom we carried on land, and buried, and named the point after his name, Colman's Point. Then we hoisted in our boat, and raised her side with wasteboards for defence of our men. So we rode still all night, having good regard to our watch.

The 8th was very fair weather: we rode still very quietly. The people came aboard us, and brought

[1] They used matchlock muskets, for which a match had to be kept burning. [2] A small anchor.

tobacco and Indian wheat, to exchange for knives and beads, and offered us no violence. So we, fitting up our boat, did mark[1] them to see if they would make any show[2] of the death of our man; which they did not.

The 9th, fair weather. In the morning two great canoes came aboard, full of men, — the one with their bows and arrows, and the other in show of buying of knives, to betray us; but we perceived their intent. We took two of them to have kept them, and put red coats on them, and would not suffer the other to come near us. So they went on land; and two other came aboard in a canoe. We took the one, and let the other go; but he which we had taken got up, and leaped overboard. Then we weighed, and went off into the channel of the river, and anchored there all night. . . .

The 12th, very fair and hot. In the afternoon, at two of the clock, we weighed, the wind being variable between the north and north-west. So we turned into the river two leagues, and anchored. This morning, at our first ride in the river, there came eight and twenty canoes full of men, women, and children, to betray us; but we saw their intent, and suffered none of them to come aboard of us. At twelve of the clock they departed. They brought with them oysters and beans, whereof we bought some. They have great tobacco-pipes of yellow copper, and pots of earth to dress their meat in. . . .

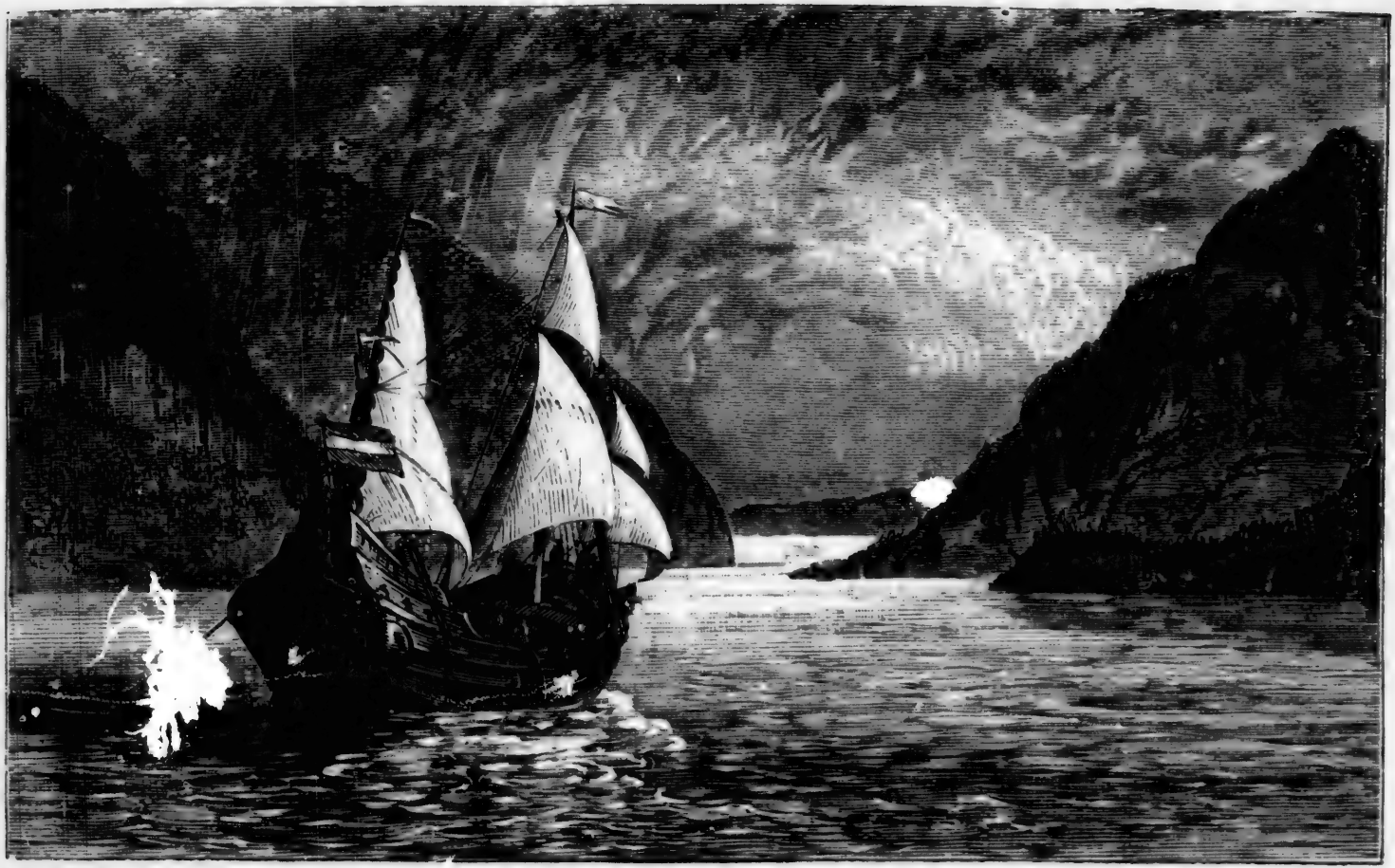
The 15th, in the morning, was misty, until the sun arose; then it cleared. So we weighed with the wind at south, and ran up into the river twenty leagues,

[1] Observe. [2] i.e., show that they knew it.

passing by high mountains. We had a very good depth, as six, seven, eight, nine, ten, twelve, and thirteen fathoms, and great store of salmons in the river. This morning our two savages got out of a port, and swam away. After we were under sail, they called to us in scorn. At night we came to other mountains, which lie from the river's side. There we found very loving people, and very old men, where we were well used. Our boat went to fish, and caught great store of very good fish.

The 20th, in the morning, was fair weather. Our master's mate, with four men more, went up with our boat to sound the river, and found, two leagues above us, but two fathoms water, and the channel very narrow, and, above that place, seven or eight fathoms. Toward night they returned; and we rode still all night. The one and twentieth was fair weather, and the wind all southerly. We determined yet once more to go farther up into the river to try what depth and breadth it did bear; but much people resorted aboard, so we went not this day. Our carpenter went on land, and made a fore-yard. And our master and his mate determined to try some of the chief men of the country, whether they had any treachery in them. So they took them down into the cabin, and gave them so much wine and *aqua vitæ*[1] that they were all merry. And one of them had his wife with him, which sat so modestly as any of our countrywomen would do in a strange place. In the end, one of them was drunk, which had been aboard of our ship all the time that we had been there; and that was strange to them; for they could

[1] Brandy.



HUDSON IN THE HIGHLANDS.

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not tell how to take it. The canoes and folk went all on shore; but some of them came again, and brought strops[1] of beads, — some had six, seven, eight, nine, ten, — and gave him: so he slept all night quietly.

The two and twentieth was fair weather. In the morning our master's mate and four more of the company went up with our boat to sound the river higher up. The people of the country came not aboard till noon; but when they came, and saw the savages well, they were glad. So at three of the clock in the afternoon, they came aboard, and brought tobacco and more beads, and gave them to our master, and made an oration, and showed him all the country round about. Then they sent one of their company on land, who presently returned, and brought a great platter full of venison, dressed by themselves; and they caused him to eat with them: then they made him reverence, and departed, all save the old man that lay aboard. This night, at ten of the clock, our boat returned in a shower of rain, from sounding of the river, and found it to be at an end for shipping to go in; for they had been up eight or nine leagues, and found but seven foot water, and inconstant soundings.

The four and twentieth was fair weather, the wind at the north-west. We weighed [anchor], and went down the river seven or eight leagues; and at half ebb we came aground on a bank of ooze in the middle of the river, and sat[2] there till the flood. Then we went on land, and gathered good store of chestnuts.[3] At ten of the clock we came off into deep water, and anchored. . . .

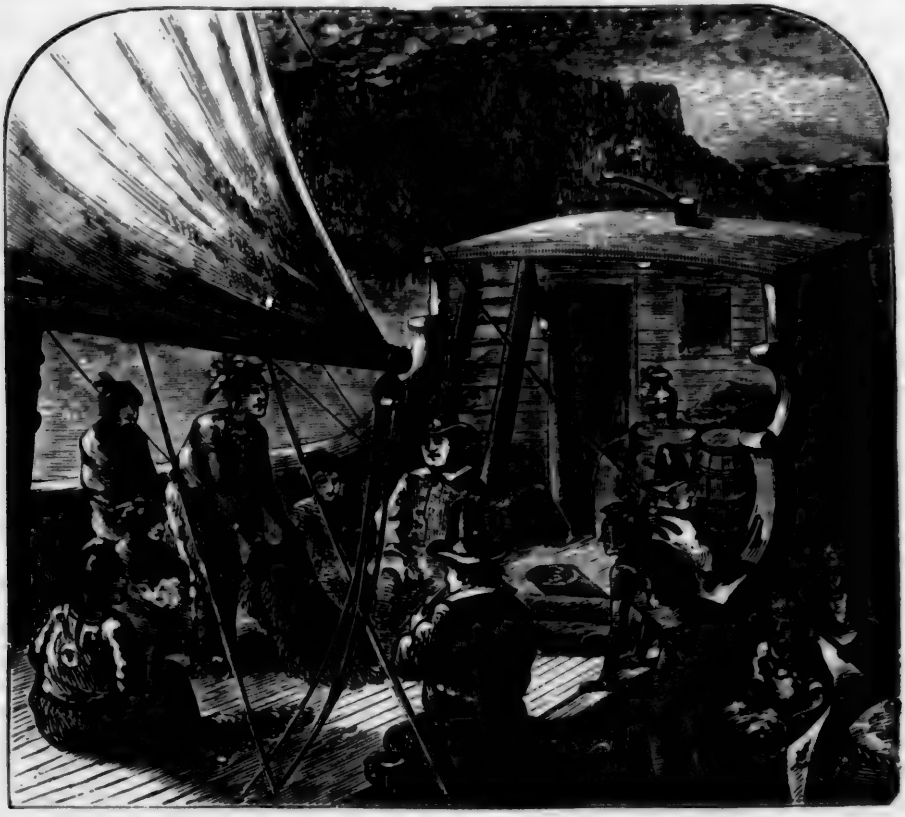
[1] Straps, or strings. [2] Staid.

[3] Probably near the present town of Hudson.

The six and twentieth was fair weather, and the wind at south a stiff gale. We rode still. In the morning, our carpenter went on land with our master's mate, and four more of our company, to cut wood. This morning, two canoes came up the river from the place where we first found loving people; and in one of them was the old man that had lain aboard of us at the other place. He brought another old man with him, which brought more strops of beads, and gave them to our master, and showed him all the country thereabout as though it were at his command. So he made the two old men dine with him, and the old man's wife; for they brought two old women, and two young maidens of the age of sixteen or seventeen years, with them, who behaved themselves very modestly. Our master gave one of the old men a knife; and they gave him and us tobacco. And at one of the clock they departed down the river, making signs that we should come down to them; for we were within two leagues of the place where they dwelt. . . .

The 1st of October, fair weather, the wind variable between the west and the north. In the morning we weighed at seven of the clock with the ebb, and got down below the mountains, which was seven leagues. Then it fell calm, and the flood was come, and we anchored at twelve of the clock. The people of the mountains came aboard us, wondering at our ship and weapons. We bought some small skins of them for trifles. This afternoon, one canoe kept hanging under our stern with one man in it, which we could not keep from thence, who got up by our rudder to the cabin-window, and stole out my pillow, two shirts, and

two bandoleers. Our master's mate shot at him, and struck him on the breast, and killed him. Whereupon all the rest fled away, some in their canoes, and so leaped out of them into the water. We manned our boat, and got our things again. Then one of them



INDIANS ON BOARD THE HALF-MOON.

that swam got hold of our boat, thinking to overthrow it. But our cook took a sword, and cut off one of his hands, and he was drowned. By this time the ebb was come, and we weighed and got down two leagues. By that time it was dark. So we anchored in four fathoms water, and rode well. . . .

The 4th was fair weather, and the wind at north north-west. We weighed, and came out of the river, into which we had run so far. . . .

By twelve of the clock we were clear of all the inlet. Then we took in our boat, and set our mainsail and spritsail and topsails, and steered away east south-east and south-east by east, off into the main sea. . . .

We continued our course toward England, without seeing any land by the way, all the rest of this month of October; and on the seventh day of November, *stilo novo*,[1] being Saturday, by the grace of God we safely arrived in the range of Dartmouth, in Devonshire, in the year 1609.

II. — Indian Traditions of Henry Hudson's Arrival.

[The following narrative was written in 1801, by Rev. John Heckewelder, for many years a missionary among the Indians; the traditions having been told to him, as he says, forty years earlier, that is, about 1761, a century and a half after the coming of Hudson.]

The following account of the first arrival of Europeans at New York Island is verbatim as it was related to me by aged and respected Delawares, Monseys, and Mahicanni (otherwise called Mohegans, Mahicandus), near forty years ago. It is copied from notes and manuscripts taken on the spot. They say, —

A long time ago, when there was no such thing

[1] New style. What was called the "new style" of reckoning by the Gregorian Calendar was not adopted in England till 1753, but by the other nations of Europe much earlier.

known to the Indians as people with a white skin, — their expression, — some Indians who had been out a-fishing, and where the sea widens, espied at a great distance something remarkably large, swimming or floating on the water, and such as they had never seen before. They, immediately returning to the shore, apprised their countrymen of what they had seen, and pressed them to go out with them, and discover what it might be. These together hurried out, and saw, to their great surprise, the phenomenon, but could not agree what it might be; some concluding it to be an uncommon large fish or other animal, while others were of opinion it must be some very large house. It was at length agreed among those who were spectators, that as this phenomenon moved towards the land, — whether or not it was an animal, or any thing that had life in it, — it would be well to inform all the Indians on the inhabited islands of what they had seen, and put them on their guard.

Accordingly, they sent runners and watermen off to carry the news to their scattered chiefs, that these might send off in every direction for the warriors to come in. These arriving in numbers, and themselves viewing the strange appearance, and that it was actually moving towards them, — the entrance of the river or bay, — concluded it to be a large canoe or house, in which the *Mannitto* (great or supreme Being) himself was, and that he probably was coming to visit them. By this time the chiefs of the different tribes were assembled on York Island, and were deliberating on the manner they should receive their *Mannitto* on his arrival. Every step had been taken to be well provided with

plenty of meat for a sacrifice. The women were required to prepare the best of victuals; idols or images were examined, and put in order; and a great dance was supposed not only to be an agreeable entertainment for the *Mannitto*, but might, with the addition of a sacrifice, contribute towards appeasing him, in case he was angry with them. The conjurers were also set to work to determine what the meaning of this phenomenon was, and what the result would be. Both to these, and to the chiefs and wise men of the nation, men, women, and children were looking up for advice and protection. Between hope and fear, and in confusion, a dance commenced.

While in this situation, fresh runners arrive, declaring it a house of various colors, and crowded with living creatures. It now appears to be certain that it is the great *Mannitto* bringing them some kind of game, such as they had not before; but other runners, soon after arriving, declare it a large house of various colors, full of people, yet of quite a different color than they — the Indians — are of; that they were also dressed in a different manner from them, and that one in particular appeared altogether red, which must be the *Mannitto* himself.

They are soon hailed from the vessel, though in a language they do not understand; yet they shout — or yell — in their way. Many are for running off to the woods, but are pressed by others to stay in order not to give offence to their visitors, who could find them out, and might destroy them. The house — or large canoe, as some will have it — stops, and a smaller canoe comes ashore with the red man and some others in it:

some stay by this canoe to guard it. The chiefs and wise men (or councillors) have composed a large circle, unto which the red-clothed man with two others approach. He salutes them with friendly countenance; and they return the salute, after their manner. They are lost in admiration, both as to the color of the skin of these whites, as also to their manner of dress, yet most as to the habit of him who wore the red clothes, which shone with something they could not account for. He must be the great *Mannitto* (supreme Being), they think; but why should he have a white skin?

A large *hockhack*[1] is brought forward by one of the (supposed) *Mannitto's* servants, and from this a substance is poured out into a small cup (or glass), and handed to the *Mannitto*. The (expected) *Mannitto* drinks, has the glass filled again, and hands it to the chief next to him to drink. The chief receives the glass, but only smelleth at it, and passes it on to the next chief, who does the same. The glass thus passes through the circle without its contents being tasted by any one, and is on the point of being returned again to the red-clothed man, when one of their number, a spirited man and great warrior, jumps up, harangues the assembly on the impropriety of returning the glass with the contents in it; that the same was handed them by the *Mannitto* in order that they should drink it, as he himself had done before them; that this would please him, but to return what he had given to them might provoke him, and be the cause of their being destroyed by him; and that since he believed it for the good of the nation that the contents offered them

[1] Bottle.

should be drunk, and as no one was willing to drink it, he would, let the consequences be what it would; and that it was better for one man to die than a whole nation to be destroyed.

He then took the glass, and, bidding the assembly farewell, drank it off. Every eye was fixed on their resolute companion, to see what an effect this would have upon him; and he soon beginning to stagger about, and at last dropping to the ground, they bemoan him. He falls into a sleep, and they view him as expiring. He awakes again, jumps up, and declares that he never felt himself before so happy as after he had drank the cup; wishes for more. His wish is granted; and the whole assembly soon join him, and become intoxicated.

After this general intoxication had ceased, — during which time the whites had confined themselves to their vessel, — the man with the red clothes returned again to them, and distributed presents among them; to wit, beads, axes, hoes, stockings, &c. They say that they had become familiar to each other, and were made to understand by signs that they now would return home, but would visit them next year again, when they would bring them more presents, and stay with them a while; but that, as they could not live without eating, they should then want a little land of them to sow seeds, in order to raise herbs to put in their broth. That the vessel arrived the season following, and they were much rejoiced at seeing each other; but that the whites laughed at them, [the Indians,] seeing they knew not the use of the axes, hoes, &c., they had given them; they having had these hanging to their breasts as orna-

ments; and the stockings they had made use of as tobacco-pouches. The whites now put handles (or helves) in the former, and cut trees down before their eyes, and dug the ground, and showed them the use of their stockings. Here — say they — a general laugh ensued among them [the Indians] that they had remained for so long a time ignorant of the use of so valuable implements; and had borne with the weight of such heavy metal hanging to their necks for such a length of time.

They took every white man they saw for a *Mannitto*, yet inferior and attendant to the supreme *Mannitto;* to wit, to the one which wore the red and laced clothes. Familiarity daily increasing between them and the whites, the latter now proposed to stay with them, asking them only for so much land as the hide of a bullock would cover (or encompass), which hide was brought forward, and spread on the ground before them. That they readily granted this request; whereupon the whites took a knife, and, beginning at one place on this hide, cut it into a rope not thicker than the finger of a little child, so that, by the time this hide was cut up, there was a great heap. That this rope was drawn out to a great distance, and then brought around again, so that both ends might meet. That they carefully avoided its breaking, and that upon the whole it encompassed a large piece of ground. That they [the Indians] were surprised at the superior wit of the whites, but did not wish to contend with them about a little land, as they had enough.

That they and the whites lived for a long time contentedly together, although these asked from time to

time more land of them ; and, proceeding higher up the *Mahicanittuk* (Hudson River), they believed they would soon want all their country, and which at this time was already the case.

III. — The Last Voyage of Henry Hudson, and how he was set adrift in the Ice by his Men.

[Hudson had discovered the bay which bears his name, and spent all winter amid the ice, remaining into the spring, until his provisions were about out, and his crew grew mutinous. One of the crew, Abacuk or Habaccuk Prickett, thus describes what followed.]

Being thus in the ice, on Saturday, the one and twentieth of June,[1] at night, Wilson the boatswain, and Henry Greene, came to me, lying in my cabin, lame, and told me that they and the rest of their associates would shift[2] the company, and turn the master and all the sick men into the shallop, and let them shift for themselves ; for there was not fourteen days' victuals left for all the company. At that poor allowance they were at, and that there they lay, the master not caring to go one way or other ; and that they had not eaten any thing these three days, and therefore were resolute, either to mend or end ; and what they had begun they would go through with it, or die. When I heard this, I told them I marvelled to hear so much from them, considering that they were married men, and had wives and children ; and that, for their sakes, they should not commit so foul a thing in the sight of God and man as that would be : for why

[1] 1611. [2] i.e., take out part of them.

should they banish themselves from their native country? Henry Greene bade me hold my peace, for he knew the worst, which was, to be hanged when he came home; and therefore, of the two, he would rather be hanged at home than starved abroad; and, for the good-will they bare me, they would have me stay in the ship. I gave them thanks, and told them I came into her, not to forsake her, yet not to hurt myself and others by any such deed. Henry Greene told me then that I must take my fortune in the shallop. "If there be no remedy," said I, "the will of God be done."

Away went Henry Greene in a rage, swearing to cut his throat that went about to disturb them, and left Wilson by me, with whom I had some talk, but to no good; for he was so persuaded that there was no remedy now but to go on while it was hot,[1] lest their party should fail them, and the mischief they intended to others should light on themselves. Henry Greene came again, and demanded of him what I said. Wilson answered, "He is in his old song, still patient." Then I spake to Henry Greene to stay three days, in which time I would so deal with the master that all should be well. So I dealt with him to forbear but two days, nay, twelve hours. "There is no way, then," say they, "but out of hand."[2] Then I told them, that, if they would stay till Monday, I would join with them to share all the victuals in the ship, and would justify it when I came home; but this would not serve their terms. Wherefore I told them it was some worse matter they had in hand than they made show of, and

[1] i.e., while heated with excitement. [2] At once.

that it was blood and revenge he[1] sought, or else he would not at such a time of night undertake such a deed. Henry Greene, with that, taketh my Bible, which lay before me, and sware that he would do no man harm, and what he did was for the good of the voyage, and for nothing else; and that all the rest should do the like. The like did Wilson swear.

Henry Greene went his way; and presently came Juet,[2] who, because he was an ancient man, I hoped to have found some reason in him. But he was worse than Henry Greene; for he sware plainly that he would justify this deed when he came home. After him came John Thomas and Michael Perce, as birds of one feather; but, because they are not living, I will let them go, as then I did. Then came Moter and Bennet, of whom I demanded if they were well advised what they had taken in hand. They answered they were, and therefore came to take their oath.

Now, because I am much condemned for this oath, as one of them that plotted with them, and that by an oath I should bind them together to perform what they had begun, I thought good here to set down to the view of all, how well their oath and deeds agreed. And thus it was: "You shall swear truth to God, your prince, and country: you shall do nothing but to the glory of God, and the good of the action in hand, and harm to no man." This was the oath without adding or diminishing. I looked for more of these companions, although these were too many; but there came no more. It was dark, and they in a readiness to put

[1] Henry Greene.

[2] Robert Juet, author of the Diary previously given.

this deed of darkness in execution. I called to Henry Greene and Wilson, and prayed them not to go in hand with it in the dark, but to stay till the morning. Now every man, I hope, would go to his rest; but wickedness sleepeth not. For Henry Greene keepeth the master company all night, and gave me bread which his cabin-mate gave him; and others [were] as watchful as he.

Then I asked Henry Greene whom he would put out with the master. He said, the carpenter, John King, and the sick men. I said they should not do well to part with the carpenter, what need soever they should have. Why the carpenter was in no more regard amongst them was, first, for that he and John King were condemned for wrong done in the victual.[1] But the chiefest cause was for that the master loved him, and made him his mate, upon his return out of our wintering place, thereby displacing Robert Billet; whereat they did grudge, because he could neither write nor read. "And therefore," said they, "the master and his ignorant mate would carry the ship whither the master pleased;" the master forbidding any man to keep account or reckoning, having taken from all men whatsoever served for that purpose. Well, I obtained of Henry Greene and Wilson that the carpenter should stay, by whose means I hoped, after they had satisfied themselves, that the master and the poor man might be taken into the ship again. Or I hoped that some one or other would give some notice, either to the carpenter, John King, or the master; for so it might have come to pass by some of them that were the most forward. . . .

[1] i.e., in distributing the food.

In the mean time, Henry Greene and another went to the carpenter, and held him with a talk till the master[1] came out of his cabin, which he soon did; then came John Thomas and Bennet before him, while Wilson bound his arms behind him. He asked them what they meant. They told him he should know when he was in the shallop. Now Juet, while this was a-doing, came to John King into the hold, who was provided for him; for he had got a sword of his own, and kept him at a bay, and might have killed him; but others came to help him: and so he came up to the master. The master called to the carpenter, and told him that he was bound; but I heard no answer he made. Now Arnold Lodlo and Michael Bute railed at them, and told them their knavery would show itself. Then was the shallop hauled up to the ship-side; and the poor, sick, and lame men were called upon to get them out of their cabins into the shallop. The master called to me, who came out of my cabin as well as I could, to the hatchway, to speak with him, where, on my knees, I besought them, for the love of God, to remember themselves, and to do as they would be done unto. They bade me keep myself well, and get me into my cabin, not suffering the master to speak with me. But when I came into my cabin again, he called to me at the horn[2] which gave light into my cabin, and told me that Juet would overthrow us all. "Nay," said I, "it is that villain Henry Greene;" and I spake it not softly.

Now was the carpenter at liberty, who asked them if they would be hanged when they came home. And as

[1] Henry Hudson.

[2] Thin pieces, cut from horn, were used instead of glass.

for himself, he said he would not stay in the ship, unless they would force him. They bade him go then; for they would not stay him. "I will," said he, "so I may have my chest with me, and all that is in it." They said he should; and presently they put it into the shallop. Then he came down to me to take his leave of me, who persuaded him to stay, which if he did, he might so work that all should be well. He said he did not think but they would be glad to take them in again; for he was so persuaded by the master, that there was not one in all the ship could tell how to carry her home. "But," saith he, "if we must part," — which we will not willingly do, for they would follow the ship, — he prayed me, if we came to the capes before them,[1] that I would leave some token that we had been there, near to the place where the fowls bred, and he would do the like for us; and so, with tears, we parted. Now were the sick men driven out of their cabins into the shallop. But John Thomas was Francis Clement's friend, and Bennet was the cooper's: so there were words between them and Henry Greene, — one saying that they should go, and the other swearing that they should not go, but such as were in the shallop should return. When Henry Greene heard that, he was compelled to give place, and to put out Arnold Lodlo and Michael Bute, which with much ado they did.

In the mean time, there were some of them that plied their work as if the ship had been entered by force, and they had free leave to pillage, breaking up chests, and rifling all places. One of them came by me, who

[1] At the mouth of Hudson's Bay.

asked me what they should do. I answered, he should make an end of what he had begun; for I saw him do nothing but shark[1] up and down. Now were all the poor men in the shallop, whose names are as followeth: Henry Hudson, John Hudson, Arnold Lodlo, Sidrack Faner, Philip Staffe, Thomas Woodhouse or Wydhouse, Adam Moore, Henry King, Michael Bute. The carpenter got of them a piece,[2] and powder and shot, and some pikes, an iron pot, with some meal, and other things. They stood out of the ice, the shallop being fast to the stern of the ship; and so, when they were nigh out, for I cannot say they were clean out, they[3] cut her head fast from the stern of our ship, then out with their topsails, and towards the east they stood in a clear sea. In the end, they took in their topsails, righted their helm, and lay under their foresail till they had ransacked and searched all places in the ship. In the hold, they found one of the vessels of meal whole, and the other half spent; for we had but two. We found also two firkins of butter, some twenty-seven pieces of pork, half a bushel of peas; but in the master's cabin we found two hundred of biscuit cakes, a peck of meal, of beer to the quantity of a butt, one with another. Now it was said that the shallop was come within sight, they let fall the mainsail, and out with their topsails, and fly as from an enemy.

Then I prayed them yet to remember themselves; but William Wilson — more than the rest — would hear of no such matter.

[1] Plunder. [2] A gun.
[3] The mutinous crew, on the ship.

[This is all that is known of the fate of Henry Hudson. These events are supposed to have occurred near the south-east corner of James Bay. The narrative goes on to describe the terrible hardships endured by the mutinous crew, during which, Robert Juet and others died of starvation. The survivors reached Plymouth, England, in September, 1611.]

IV. — The Dutch Settlement of the New Netherlands.

[From early Dutch Chronicles.]

[1624.] Numerous voyages realize so much profit for adventurers, that they discover other countries, which they afterwards settle and plant. Virginia, a country lying in 42½°[1] is one of these. It was first peopled by the French, afterwards by the English, and is to-day a flourishing colony. The Lords States General[2] observing the great abundance of their people, as well as their desire to plant other lands, allowed the West India Company to settle that same country. Many from the United Colonies did formerly, and do still, trade there. Yea, for the greater security of the traders, a castle — Fort Nassau — had been built on an island in 42° on the north side of the River Montagne, now called Mauritius.[3] But as the natives there were somewhat discontented, and not easily managed, the projectors abandoned it, intending now to plant a colony among the Maikans, a nation lying twenty five miles[4] on both sides of the river upwards.

This river, or the bay, lies in 40°, running well in; being as broad or wide as the Thames, and navigable

[1] North latitude. [2] Of Holland. [3] Now Hudson River.
[4] These miles are Dutch, one being equal to three English.

full fifty miles up, through divers nations, who sometimes manifest themselves with arrows, like enemies, sometimes like friends; but when they had seen the ships once or twice, or traded with our people, they became altogether friendly. . . .

This country, now called New Netherland, is usually reached in seven or eight weeks from here. The course lies towards the Canary Islands, thence to the Indian Islands, then towards the mainland of Virginia, steering right across, leaving in fourteen days the Bahamas on the left, and the Bermudas on the right hand, where the winds are variable with which the land is made. . . .

[1626.] In our preceding treatise, we made mention of New Netherland and its colony, planted by the West India Company, situate in Virginia on the river, called by the French Montagne, and by us Mauritius, and that some families were sent thither, which now increased to two hundred souls; and afterwards some ships, — one with horses, the other with cows, and the third hay. Two months afterwards, a fleet was equipped carrying sheep, hogs, wagons, ploughs, and all other implements of husbandry.

These cattle were, on their arrival, first landed on Nut Island, three miles up the river, where they remained a day or two. There being no means of pasturing them there, they were shipped in sloops and boats to the Manhates,[1] right opposite said island. Being put out to pasture here, they throve well; but afterwards full twenty in all died. The cause of this was that they had eaten something bad from an unculti-

[1] Manhattan Island.

vated soil. But they went in the middle of September on new grass, as good and as long as could be desired.

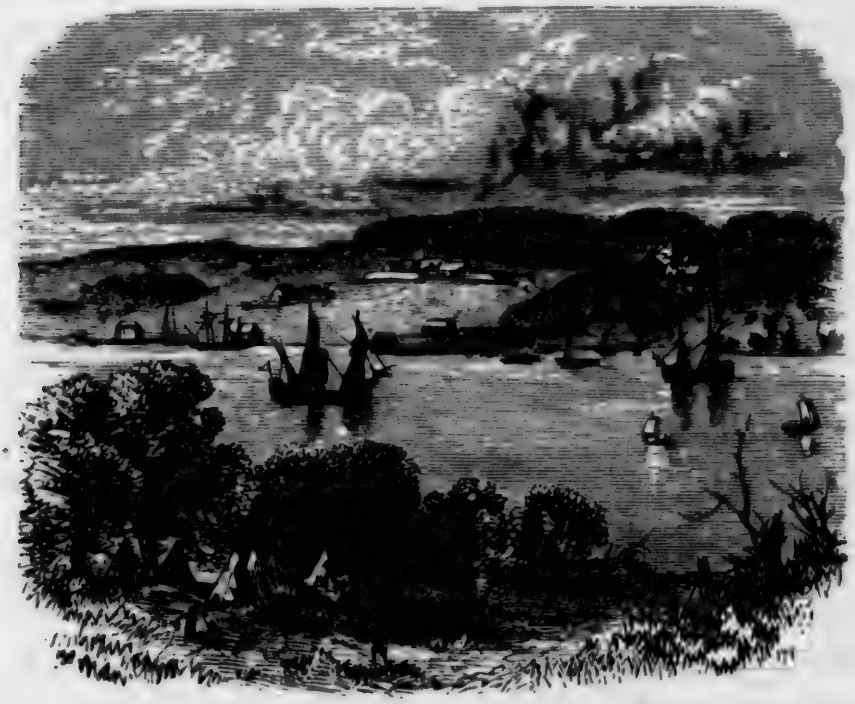
The colony was planted at this time on the Manhates, where a fort was staked out by Master Kryn Frederycke, an engineer. It will be of large dimensions. The ship which has returned home this month [November] brings samples of all the different sorts of produce there. The cargo consists of 7,246 beavers, 675 otter-skins, 48 minx, 36 wildcat, and various other sorts; several pieces of oak timber and hickory.

The counting-house there is kept in a stone building, thatched with reed: the other houses are of the bark of trees. Each has his own house. The director and koopman[1] live together. There are thirty ordinary houses on the east side of the river, which runs nearly north and south. The Honorable Pieter Minuit is director there at present; Jan Lempo, sheriff; Sebastiaen Jansz Crol and Jan Huyck, comforters of the sick, who, whilst awaiting a clergyman, read to the commonalty there on Sundays, from texts of Scripture with the comment. François Molemaecker is busy building a horse-mill, over which shall be constructed a spacious room, sufficient to accommodate a large congregation; and then a tower is to be erected, where the bells brought from Porto Rico will be hung.

The Council there administered justice in criminal matters as far as imposing fines, but not as far as capital punishment. Should it happen that any one deserves that, he must be sent to Holland with his sentence. . . . There is another there who fills no public office: he is busy about his own affairs. Men

[1] Trader, or shop-keeper. In German, *kaufmann*.

work there as in Holland: one trades upwards, southwards, and northwards; another builds houses; the third farms. Each farmer has his farm and the cows on the land purchased by the Company; but the milk remains to the profit of the boor:[1] he sells to those of the people who receive their wages for work every



SETTLEMENT ON THE HUDSON RIVER.

week. The houses of the Hollanders now stand without the fort; but, when that is completed, they will all repair within, so as to garrison it, and be secure from sudden attack.

Those of the South River will abandon their fort, and come hither: no more than fifteen or sixteen men will remain at Fort Orange, the most distant point at

[1] Farmer.

which the Hollanders traded: the remainder will come down to the Manhates. Right opposite is the fort of the Maykans, which they built against their enemies, the Maquaes,[1] a powerful people.

It happened this year that the Maykans, being at war with the Maquaes, requested to be assisted by the commander of Fort Orange and six others. Commander Krieckebeck went up with them a mile from the fort, and met the Maquaes, who peppered them so bravely with a discharge of arrows, that they were forced to fly, leaving many slain, among whom were the commander and three of his men. Among the latter was Tymen Bouwensz, whom they devoured, after having well cooked him.[2] The rest they burnt. The commander was buried with the other two by his side. Three escaped, — two Portuguese, and a Hollander from Hoorn. One of the Portuguese was wounded by an arrow in the back whilst swimming. The Indians carried a leg and an arm home to be divided amongst their families, as a proof that they had conquered their enemies.

Some days after, the worthy Pieter Barentsen, who usually was sent upwards and along the coast with the sloop, visited them. They wished to excuse their act, on the plea that they had never injured the whites, and asked the reason why the latter had meddled with them. Had it been otherwise, they would not have acted as they had.

[1] Mohawks. [2] This is probably a romance.

BOOK XIV.

THE PILGRIMS AT PLYMOUTH.

(A.D. 1620–1621.)

These extracts are taken from that valuable collection, "Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers of the Colony of Plymouth, from 1602 to 1625; now first collected from original records and contemporaneous printed documents," by Alexander Young, Boston, 1841.

The first extract is from Edward Winslow's "Brief Narration," London, 1646 (Young, p. 384). The rest are from the journal of Bradford and Winslow, commonly called "Mourt's Relation," London, 1622. (Young, pp. 125–136, 150–162, 167–174, 182–189.)

THE PILGRIMS AT PLYMOUTH.

I. — The Sailing of the Pilgrims.

[The Pilgrims sailed from Delft Haven, — often called by them Delph's Haven, — in Holland, July 22, 1620.]

AND when the ship was ready to carry us away, the brethren that staid, having again solemnly sought the Lord with us and for us, and we further engaging ourselves mutually as before, — they, I say, that staid at Leyden, feasted us that were to go, at our pastor's house, being large, where we refreshed ourselves, after tears, with singing of psalms, making joyful melody in our hearts, as well as with the voice, there being many of the congregation very expert in music; and indeed it was the sweetest melody that ever mine ears heard. After this, they accompanied us to Delph's Haven, where we were to embark, and there feasted us again. And after prayer performed by our pastor, where a flood of tears was poured out, they accompanied us to the ship, but were not able to speak one to another for the abundance of sorrow to part. But we only going aboard, — the ship lying to the quay, and

ready to set sail, the wind being fair, — we gave them a volley of small shot, and three pieces of ordnance; and so, lifting up our hands to each other, and our hearts for each other to the Lord our God, we departed, and found his presence with us in the midst of our manifold straits he carried us through. And, if any

DELPH'S HAVEN.

doubt this relation, the Dutch, as I hear, at Delph's Haven preserve the memory of it to this day, and will inform them.

II. — Miles Standish at Cape Cod.

Some of our people, impatient of delay, desired for our better furtherance to travel by land into the country, — which was not without appearance of danger, not having the shallop with them, nor means to carry provision but on their backs, — to see whether it might be

fit for us to seat[1] in or no; and the rather, because, as we sailed into the harbor, there seemed to be a river[2] opening itself into the mainland. The willingness of the persons was liked; but the thing itself, in regard to the danger, was rather permitted than approved; and so with cautions, directions, and instructions, six-

MAYFLOWER OFF PROVINCETOWN.

teen men were set[3] out, with every man his musket,[4] sword, and corselet, under the conduct of Captain Miles Standish, unto whom was adjoined for counsel and

1 Establish themselves, as we say "country-seat."
2 Pamet River, Cape Cod.
3 Sent.
4 These guns were chiefly matchlocks, as afterwards appears.

advice William Bradford, Stephen Hopkins, and Edward Tilley.

Wednesday, the 15th of November, they were set ashore.[1] And when they had ordered themselves in the order of a single file, and marched about the space of a mile by the sea, they espied five or six people, with a dog, coming towards them, who were savages; who, when they saw them, ran into the wood, and whistled the dog after them, &c. First they supposed them to be Master Jones, the master, and some of his men; for they were ashore, and knew of their coming. But, after they knew them to be Indians, they marched after them into the woods, lest other of the Indians should lie in ambush. But, when the Indians saw our men following them, they ran away with might and main, and our men turned out of the wood after them, for it was the way they intended to go; but they could not come near them. They followed them that night about ten miles, by the trace of their footings,[2] and saw how they had come the same way they went, and at a turning perceived how they ran up a hill, to see whether they followed them. At length night came upon them, and they were constrained to take up their lodging.[3] So they set forth three sentinels; and the rest, some kindled a fire, and others fetched wood, and there held our rendezvous that night.

In the morning, as soon as we could see the trace, we proceeded on our journey, and had[4] the track until

1 Probably at Stevens's Point, at the western end of Cape Cod harbor.
2 Footprints.
3 Probably near Stout's Creek, opposite Beach Point.
4 Followed.

we had compassed the head of a long creek;[1] and there they took into another wood, and we after them, supposing to find some of their dwellings. But we marched through boughs and bushes, and under hills and valleys, which tore our very armor in pieces, and yet could meet with none of them, nor their houses, nor find any fresh water, which we greatly desired and stood in need of; for we brought neither beer nor water with us, and our victuals was only biscuit and Holland cheese, and a little bottle of aqua vitæ, so as we were sore athirst. About ten o'clock, we came into a deep valley, full of brush, wood-gaile,[2] and long grass, through which we found little paths, or tracks; and there we saw a deer, and found springs of fresh water, of which we were heartily glad, and sat us down and drunk our first New England water with as much delight as ever we drunk drink in all our lives.

When we had refreshed ourselves, we directed our course full south, that we might come to the shore, which within a short while after we did, and there made a fire, that they in the ship might see where we were, as we had direction; and so marched on towards this supposed river. And, as we went in another valley, we found a fine clear pond[3] of fresh water, being about a musket-shot broad, and twice as long. There grew also many small vines, and fowl and deer haunted there. There grew much sassafras. From thence we went on, and found much plain ground, about fifty acres, fit for the plough, and some signs where the In-

[1] East Harbor Creek, Truro.

[2] Probably sweet-gale, or wax-myrtle (*Myrica gale*).

[3] The pond near Highland Light.

dians had formerly planted their corn. After this, some thought it best, for nearness of the river, to go down and travel on the sea-sands, by which means some of our men were tired, and lagged behind. So we staid and gathered them up, and struck into the land again, where we found a little path to certain heaps of sand, one whereof was covered with old mats, and had a wooden thing like a mortar whelmed[1] on the top of it, and an earthen pot laid in a little hole at the end thereof. We, musing[2] what it might be, digged, and found a bow, and, as we thought, arrows; but they were rotten. We supposed there were many other things; but, because we deemed them graves, we put in the bow again, and made it up as it was, and left the rest untouched, because we thought it would be odious unto them to ransack their sepulchres.

We went on farther, and found new stubble, of which they had gotten corn this year, and many walnut-trees full of nuts, and great store of straw[illegible]erries, and some vines. Passing thus a field or two, which were not great, we came to another, which had also been new gotten; and there we found where a house had been, and four or five old planks laid together. Also we found a great kettle, which had been some ship's kettle, and brought out of Europe. There was also a heap of sand, made like the former, — but it was newly done, we might see how they had paddled it with their hands, — which we digged up, and in it we found a little old basket full of fair Indian corn. We digged farther, and found a fine great new basket, full of very fair corn of this year, with some six and thirty goodly ears of corn,

[1] Sunk. [2] Wandering.

some yellow, and some red, and others mixed with blue, which was a very goodly sight.[1] The basket was round, and narrow at the top. It held about three or four bushels, which was as much as two of us could lift up from the ground, and was very handsomely and cunningly made. But, whilst we were busy about all these things, we set our men sentinel in a round ring, all but two or three, which digged up the corn. We were in suspense what to do with it and the kettle; and at length, after much consultation, we concluded to take the kettle, and as much of the corn as we could carry away with us; and when our shallop came, if we could find any of the people, and come to parley with them, we would give them the kettle again, and satisfy them for their corn.[2] So we took all the ears, and put a good deal of the loose corn in the kettle, for two men to bring away on a staff. Besides, they that could put any into their pockets filled the same. The rest we buried again; for we were so laden with armor, that we could carry no more.

Not far from this place we found the remainder of an old fort or palisado, which, as we conceived, had been made by some Christians. This was also hard by that place which we thought had been a river;[3] unto which we went, and found it so to be, dividing itself into two arms by a high bank, standing right by the cut or mouth, which came from the sea. That which was next unto us was the less. The other arm was more than twice as big, and not unlike to be a harbor for ships: but whether it be a fresh river,

[1] This corn of three colors is still common at Truro. — YOUNG.

[2] This they afterwards did.

[3] Pamet River.

or only an indraught of the sea, we had no time to discover; for we had commandment to be out but two days. Here, also, we saw two canoes, — the one on the one side, the other on the other side. We could not believe it was a canoe till we came near it. So we returned, leaving the further discovery hereof to our shallop, and came that night back again to the fresh-water pond; and there we made our rendezvous that night, making a great fire, and a barricade to windward of us, and kept good watch with three sentinels all night, every one standing when his turn came, while five or six inches of match was burning. It proved a very rainy night.

In the morning, we took our kettle, and sunk it in the pond, and trimmed our muskets, for few of them would go off because of the wet, and so coasted the wood again to come home, in which we were shrewdly puzzled, and lost our way. As we wandered, we came to a tree, where a young sprit[1] was bowed down over a bow, and some acorns strewed underneath. Stephen Hopkins said it had been to catch some deer. So as we were looking at it, William Bradford being in the rear, when he came, looked also upon it; and, as he went about, it gave a sudden jerk up, and he was immediately caught by the leg. It was a very pretty device, made with a rope of their own making, and having a noose as artificially made as any roper[2] in England can make, and as like ours as can be; which we brought away with us. In the end, we got out of

[1] Sapling. The word is now used only for the *sprit* of a small sail; that is, the pole which holds it up transversely.

[2] Rope-maker.

the wood, and were fallen[1] about a mile too high above the creek, where we saw three bucks; but we had rather have had one of them. We also did spring three couple of partridges: and, as we came along by the creek, we saw great flocks of wild geese and ducks; but they were very fearful of us. So we marched some while in the woods, some while on the sands, and other while in the water up to the knees, till at length we came near the ship, and then we shot off our pieces, and the long-boat came to fetch us. Master Jones and Master Carver, being on the shore with many of our people, came to meet us. And thus we came both weary and welcome home, and delivered in our corn into the store to be kept for seed; for we knew not how to come by any, and therefore were very glad, purposing, as soon as we could meet with any of the inhabitants of that place, to make them large satisfaction. This was our first discovery, whilst our shallop was in repairing.

III. — The First Encounter.

Wednesday, the 6th of December [1620], we set out, being very cold and hard weather. We were a long while, after we launched from the ship, before we could get clear of a sandy point[2] which lay within less than a furlough of the same; in which time two were very sick, and Edward Tilley had liked to have sounded[3] with cold. The gunner also was sick unto death; but hope of trucking[4] made him to go, and so remained all

[1] Come. [2] The end of Long Point.
[3] Possibly swooned, or a-bed. [4] Traffic.

that day and the next night. At length we got clear of the sandy point, and got up our sails, and, within an hour or two, we got under the weather-shore, and then had smoother water and better sailing. But it was very cold; for the water froze on our clothes, and made them many times like coats of iron.

We sailed six or seven leagues by the shore, but saw neither river nor creek. At length we met with a tongue of land, being flat off from the shore, with a sandy point.[1] We bore up to gain the point, and found there a fair income[2] or road of a bay, being a league over at the narrowest, and some two or three in length; but we made right over to the land before us, and left the discovery of this income till the next day. As we drew near to the shore,[3] we espied some ten or twelve Indians very busy about a black thing, — what it was we could not tell, — till afterwards they saw us, and ran to and fro, as if they had been carrying something away. We landed a league or two from them, and had much ado to put ashore anywhere, it lay so full of flat sands. When we came to shore, we made us a barricado, and got firewood, and set out sentinels, and betook us to our lodging, such as it was. We saw the smoke of the fire which the savages made that night, about four or five miles from us.

GOVERNOR WINSLOW.

[1] Billingsgate Point, in Wellfleet, now an island.
[2] Entrance.
[3] In Eastham.

In the morning we divided our company, some eight in the shallop; and the rest on the shore went to discover this place. But we found it only to be a bay,[1] without either river or creek coming into it. Yet we deemed it to be as good a harbor as Cape Cod; for they that sounded it found a ship might ride in five fathom water. We on the land found it to be a level soil, though none of the fruitfulest. We saw two becks[2] of fresh water, which were the first running streams that we saw in the country; but one might stride over them. We found also a great fish, called a grampus,[3] dead on the sands. They in the shallop found two of them also in the bottom of the bay, dead in like sort. They were cast up at high water, and could not get off for the frost and ice. They were some five or six paces long, and about two inches thick of fat, and fleshed like swine. They would have yielded a great deal of oil, if there had been time and means to have taken it. So we, finding nothing for our turn, both we and our shallop returned.

We then directed our course along the sea-sands to the place where we first saw the Indians. When we were there, we saw it was also a grampus which they were cutting up. They cut it into long rands, or pieces, about an ell long, and two handful broad. We found here and there a piece scattered by the way, as it seemed, for haste. This place the most were minded we should call the Grampus Bay, because we found so many of them there. We followed the track of

[1] Wellfleet harbor.

[2] Brooks; i.e., Indian Brook and Cook's Brook.

[3] One of the dolphin family, sometimes twenty-five feet long.

the Indians' bare feet a good way on the sands. At length we saw where they struck into the woods by the side of a pond.[1] As we went to view the place, one said he thought he saw an Indian house among the trees, so went up to see. And here we and the shallop lost sight one of another till night, it being now about nine or ten o'clock: so we light[2] upon a path, but saw no house, and followed a great way into the woods. At length we found where corn had been set, but not that year.

Anon we found a great burying-place, one part whereof was encompassed with a large palisado, like a churchyard with young spires,[3] four or five yards long, set as close one by another as they could, two or three foot in the ground. Within, it was full of graves, some bigger, and some less. Some were also paled[4] about, and others had like an Indian house made over them, but not matted. These graves were more sumptuous than those at Cornhill;[5] yet we digged none of them up, but only viewed them, and went our way. Without the palisado were graves also, but not so costly. From this place we went and found more corn-ground, but not of this year. As we ranged, we light on four or five Indian houses which had been lately dwelt in; but they were uncovered, and had no mats about them, else they were like those we found at Cornhill, but had not been so lately dwelt in. There was nothing left but two or three pieces of old mats, and a little sedge.

[1] Great Pond, in Eastham.
[2] Lighted upon, or discovered.
[3] Boughs, or tops of young trees.
[4] Surrounded with palings.
[5] An Indian grave, where they had found corn.

Also, a little further, we found two baskets full of parched acorns hid in the ground, which we supposed had been corn when we began to dig the same. We cast earth thereon again, and went our way. All this while we saw no people.

We went ranging up and down till the sun began to draw low, and then we hasted out of the woods, that we might come to our shallop, which, when we were out of the woods, we espied a great way off, and called them to come unto us; the which they did as soon as they could, for it was not yet high water. They were exceeding glad to see us; for they feared because they had not seen us in so long a time, thinking we would have kept by the shore-side. So, being both weary and faint, — for we had eaten nothing all day, — we fell to make our rendezvous, and get firewood, which always costs us a great deal of labor. By that time we had done, and our shallop come to us, it was within night; and we fed upon such victuals as we had, and betook us to our rest, after we had set our watch. About midnight we heard a great and hideous cry; and our sentinels called, "Arm, arm!" So we bestirred ourselves, and shot off a couple of muskets, and the noise ceased. We concluded that it was a company of wolves or foxes; for one told us he had heard such a noise in Newfoundland.

About five o'clock in the morning, we began to be stirring; and two or three, which doubted whether their pieces would go off or no, made trial of them, and shot them off, but thought nothing at all. After prayer, we prepared ourselves for breakfast, and for a journey; and, it being now twilight in the morning, it

was thought meet to carry the things down to the shallop. Some said it was not best to carry the armor down. Others said they would be readier. Two or three said they would not carry theirs till they went themselves, but mistrusting nothing at all. As it fell out, the water not being high enough, they laid the things down upon the shore, and came up to breakfast. Anon, all of a sudden, we heard a great and strange cry, which we knew to be the same voices, though they varied their notes. One of the company, being abroad, ...e running in, and cried, "They are men! Indians, Indians!" and withal their arrows came flying amongst us.

Our men ran out with all speed to recover their arms, as by the good providence of God they did. In the mean time, Captain Miles Standish, having a snaphance[1] ready, made a shot; and after him another. After they two had shot, other two of us were ready: but he wished us not to shoot till we could take aim, for we knew not what need we should have; and there were four only of us which had their arms there ready, and stood before the open side of our barricado, which was first assaulted. They thought it best to defend it, lest the enemy should take it and our stuff, and so have the more vantage[2] against us. Our care was no less for the shallop; but we hoped all the rest would defend it. We called unto them to know how it was with them; and they answered, "Well, well," every one; and, "Be of good courage." We heard three of their pieces go off; and the rest called for a firebrand to light their matches. One took a log out of the fire on

[1] A flint-lock musket, then rare. [2] Advantage.

his shoulder, and went and carried it unto them, which was thought did not a little discourage our enemies. The cry of our enemies[1] was dreadful, especially when our men ran out to recover their arms. Their note was after this manner, "Woach, woach, ha ha hach woach!" Our men were no sooner come to their arms, but the enemy was ready to assault them.

There was a lusty man, and no whit less valiant, who was thought to be their captain, stood behind a tree, within half a musket-shot of us, and there let his arrows fly at us. He was seen to shoot three arrows, which were all avoided; for he at whom the first arrow was aimed saw it, and stooped down; and it flew over him. The rest were avoided also. He stood three shots of a musket. At length one took, as he said, full aim at him, after which he gave an extraordinary cry, and away they went all. We followed them about a quarter of a mile: but we left six to keep our shallop; for we were very careful of our business. Then we shouted all together two several times, and shot off a couple of muskets, and so returned. This we did, that they might see we were not afraid of them, nor discouraged.

SWORD OF STANDISH.

Thus it pleased God to vanquish our enemies, and give us deliverance. By their noise we could not guess they were less than thirty or forty, though some thought that they were many more; yet, in the dark of the morning, we could not so well discern them among the trees as they could see us by our fireside. We

[1] These were the Nauset Indians.

took up eighteen of their arrows, which we have sent to England by Master Jones, some whereof were headed with brass, others with harts' horn, and others with eagles' claws. Many more, no doubt, were shot, for these we found were almost covered with leaves: yet, by the especial providence of God, none of them either hit or hurt us, though many came close by us, and on every side of us; and some coats which hung up in our barricado were shot through and through. So, after we had given God thanks for our deliverance, we took our shallop, and went our journey, and called this place "The First Encounter."

IV. — The Landing on Plymouth Rock.

[The same exploring-party, in a shallop, finally reached Plymouth harbor.]

Having the wind good, we sailed all that day along the coast about fifteen leagues, but saw neither river nor creek to put into. After we had sailed an hour or two, it began to snow and rain, and to be bad weather. About the midst of the afternoon, the wind increased, and the seas began to be very rough; and the hinges of the rudder broke, so that we could steer no longer; but two men, with much ado, were fain to serve with a couple of oars. The seas were grown so great, that we were much troubled and in great danger; and night drew on. Anon Master Coppin bade us be of good cheer: he saw the harbor. As we drew near, the gale being stiff, and we bearing great sail to get in, split our

mast in three pieces, and were like to have cast away our shallop. Yet by God's mercy, recovering ourselves, we had the flood[1] with us, and struck into the harbor.

Now he that thought that had been the place was

SUNDAY ON CLARK'S ISLAND.

deceived, it being a place where not any of us had been before; and, coming into the harbor, he that was our pilot did bear up northward, which if we had continued we had been cast away. Yet still the Lord kept us, and we bare up for an island[2] before us; and recovering of that island, being compassed about with

[1] Tide.

[2] Clark's Island. It was named after the mate of the "Mayflower," who is said to have been the first to land there.

many rocks, and dark night growing upon us, it pleased the divine Providence that we fell upon a place of sandy ground, where our shallop did ride safe and secure all that night; and, coming upon a strange island, kept our watch all night in the rain upon that island. And in the morning we marched about it, and found no inhabitants at all; and here we made our rendezvous all that day, being Saturday, 9th of December.

On the sabbath day we rested; and on Monday we sounded the harbor, and found it a very good harbor for our shipping. We marched also into the land,[1] and found divers cornfields, and little running brooks, — a place very good for situation: so we returned to our ship again with good news to the rest of our people, which did much comfort their hearts.

V. — Plymouth Village founded.

[The expedition having returned to the ship, the "Mayflower" came to Plymouth harbor, and landed the colonists.]

So in the morning, after we had called on God for direction, we came to this resolution, to go presently ashore again, and to take a better view of two places which we thought most fitting for us; for we could not

[1] This was the "landing of the Pilgrims." Allowing for the change in the calendar, called "New Style," it corresponds to the 21st of December, though it was long considered to correspond to the 22d. "New Style" means the modern or Gregorian mode of reckoning time, which was proposed by Pope Gregory XIII. in 1582, but not adopted in England till September, 1752.

now take time for further search or consideration, our victuals being much spent, especially our beer, and it being now the 19th of December. After our landing and viewing of the places, so well as we could, we came to a conclusion, by most voices, to set on the mainland, on the first place, on a high ground, where there is a great deal of land cleared, and hath been planted with corn three or four years ago; and there is a very sweet brook runs under the hillside, and many delicate springs of as good water as can be drunk, and where we may harbor our shallops and boats exceeding well; and in this brook much good fish in their seasons: on the farther side of the river also much corn-ground cleared. In one field is a great hill, on which we point[1] to make a platform, and plant our ordnance, which will command all round about. From thence we may see into the bay, and far into the sea; and we may see thence Cape Cod. Our greatest labor will be fetching of our wood, which is half a quarter of an English mile; but there is enough so far off. What people inhabit here we yet know not; for as yet we have seen none. So there we made our rendezvous, and a place for some of our people, about twenty, resolving in the morning to come all ashore, and to build houses.

But the next morning, being Thursday, the 21st of December, it was stormy and wet, that we could not go ashore; and those that remained there all night could do nothing, but were wet, not having daylight enough to make them a sufficient court of guard[2] to

[1] Appoint, or propose.

[2] Guard-house.

keep them dry. All that night it blew and rained extremely. It was so tempestuous, that the shallop could not go on land so soon as was meet, for they had no victuals on land. About eleven o'clock, the shallop went off with much ado, with provisions, but could not return, it blew so strong; and was such foul weather that we were forced to let fall our anchor, and ride with three anchors ahead.

Friday, the 22d, the storm still continued, that we could not get a-land, nor they come to us aboard.

Saturday, the 23d, so many of us as could went on shore, felled and carried timber, to provide themselves stuff for building.

Sunday, the 24th, our people on shore heard a cry of some savages, as they thought, which caused an alarm, and to stand on their guard, expecting an assault; but all was quiet.

Monday, the twenty-fifth day, we went on shore, — some to fell timber, some to saw, some to rive,[1] and some to carry: so no man rested all that day. But towards night, some, as they were at work, heard a noise of some Indians, which caused us all to go to our muskets; but we heard no further. So we came aboard again, and left some twenty to keep the court of guard. That night we had a sore storm of wind and rain. . . .

Thursday, the 28th of December, so many as could went to work on the hill, where we purposed to build our platform for our ordnance, and which doth command all the plain and the bay, and from whence we may see far into the sea, and might be easier impaled,[2] having two rows of houses and a fair street. So in the

[1] Split. [2] Surrounded by palings.

afternoon we went to measure out the grounds; and first we took notice how many families there were, willing[1] all single men that had no wives to join with some family, as they thought fit, that so we might build fewer houses; which was done, and we reduced them to nineteen families. To greater families we allowed

LANDING OF MARY CHILTON.

larger plots, — to every person half a pole in breadth, and three in length; and so lots were cast where every man should lie; which was done, and staked out. We thought this proportion was large enough at the first, for houses and gardens to impale them round, considering the weakness of our people, many of them growing ill with colds; for our former discoveries in frost and storms, and the wading at Cape Cod, had brought much weakness amongst us, which increased

[1] Requiring.

so every day more and more, and after was the cause of many of their deaths. . . .

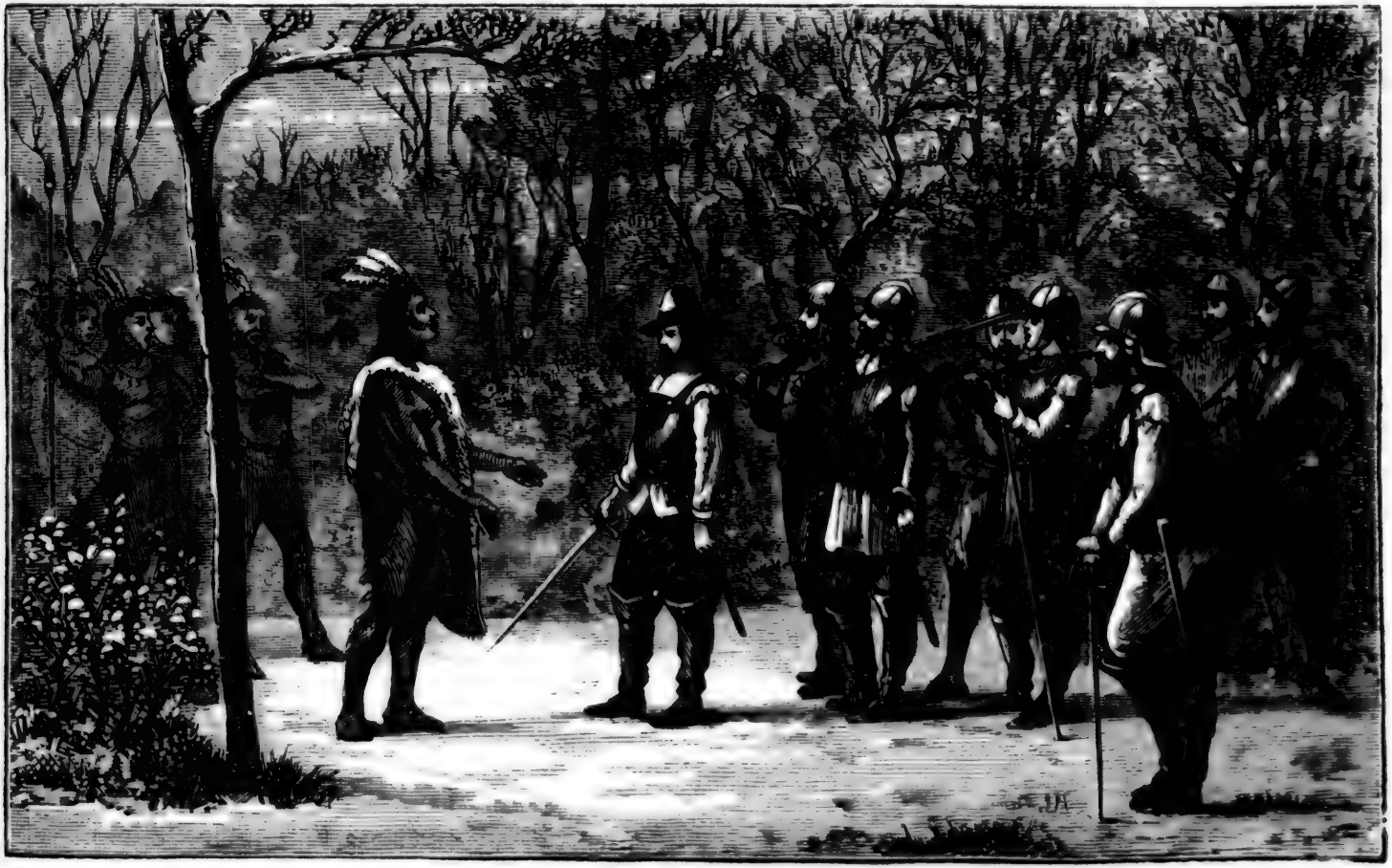
Monday, the 8th of January, was a very fair day, and we went betimes to work. Master Jones sent the shallop, as he had formerly done, to see where fish could be got. They had a great storm at sea, and were in some danger. At night they returned with three great seals, and an excellent good cod, which did assure us that we should have plenty of fish shortly.

This day Francis Billington, having the week before seen from the top of a tree on a high hill a great sea,[1] as he thought, went with one of the master's mates to see it. They went three miles, and then came to a great water, divided into two great lakes; the bigger of them five or six miles in circuit, and in it an isle a cable-length square; the other three miles in compass, in their estimation. They are fine fresh water, full of fish and fowl. A brook[2] issues from it. It will be an excellent place for us in time. They found seven or eight Indian houses, but not lately inhabited. When they saw the houses, they were in some fear; for they were but two persons, and one piece.

Tuesday, the 9th of January, was a reasonable fair day; and we went to labor that day in the building of our town, in two rows of houses,[3] for more safety. We divided by lot the plot of ground whereon to build our town, after the proportion formerly allotted. We agreed that every man should build his own house, thinking, by that course, men would make more haste

[1] It is still called Billington Sea. [2] Town Brook.

[3] These houses were built on each side of Leyden Street, which now extends from the First Church to the harbor.



MEETING OF CAPT. STANDISH AND MASSASOIT.

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than working in common. The common house, in which, for the first, we made our rendezvous, being near finished, wanted only covering, it being about twenty foot square. Some should make mortar, and gather thatch; so that in four days half of it was thatched. Frost and foul weather hindered us much.[1] This time of the year, seldom could we work half the week.

VI. — "WELCOME, ENGLISHMEN!"

AND, whilst we were busied hereabout, we were interrupted again; for there presented himself a savage, which caused an alarm. He very boldly came all alone, and along the houses, straight to the rendezvous; where we intercepted him, not suffering him to go in, as undoubtedly he would out of[2] his boldness. He saluted us in English, and bade us "Welcome;" for he had learned some broken English among the Englishmen that came to fish at Monhiggon,[3] and knew by name the most of the captains, commanders, and masters that usually come. He was a man free in speech, so far as he could express his mind, and of a seemly carriage. We questioned him of many things. He was the first savage we could meet withal. He said he was not of these parts, but of Morattiggon, and one of the sagamores or lords thereof, and had been eight months in these parts, it lying hence a day's sail with a great wind, and five days by land. He discoursed of the

[1] It was, however, an unusually mild winter.
[2] Beware of.
[3] Monhegan, an island on the coast of Maine.

whole country, and of every province, and of their sagamores, and their number of men, and strength. The wind beginning to rise a little, we cast a horseman's coat about him; for he was stark naked, only a leather about his waist, with a fringe about a span long, or little more. He had a bow and two arrows, — the one headed, the other unheaded. He was a tall, straight man; the hair of his head black, long behind, only short before, none on his face at all. He asked some beer; but we gave him strong water,[1] and biscuit, and butter, and cheese, and pudding, and a piece of mallard;[2] all which he liked well, and had been acquainted with such amongst the English.

He told us the place where we now live is called Patuxet, and that, about four years ago, all the inhabitants died of an extraordinary plague, and there is neither man, woman, nor child remaining, as indeed we have found none; so as there is none to hinder our possession, or to lay claim unto it. All the afternoon we spent in communication with him. We would gladly have been rid of him at night; but he was not willing to go this night. Then we thought to carry him on shipboard, wherewith he was well content, and went into the shallop; but the wind was high, and the water scant, that it could not return back. We lodged him that night at Stephen Hopkins's house, and watched him.

The next day, he went away back to the Massasoits,[3] from whence he said he came, who are our next border-

[1] Ardent spirits. [2] Mallard-duck.

[3] Massasoit was the name of a sachem; but they mistook it for the name of a tribe.

ing neighbors. They are sixty strong, as he saith. The Nausites are as near, south-east of them, and are a hundred strong; and those were they of[1] whom our people were encountered, as we before related. They are much incensed and provoked against the English, and, about eight months ago, slew three Englishmen; and two more hardly escaped by flight to Monhiggon. They were Sir Fernando Gorges' men, as this savage told us; as he did likewise of the *huggery*, that is, fight,[2] that our discoverer had with the Nausites, and of our tools that were taken out of the woods, which we willed him should be brought again: otherwise we would right ourselves. These people are ill affected towards the English by reason of one Hunt,[3] a master of a ship, who deceived the people, and got them, under color of trucking with them, — twenty out of this very place where we inhabit, and seven men from the Nausites; — and carried them away, and sold them for slaves, like a wretched man — for twenty pound a man — that cares not what mischief he doth for his profit.

Saturday, in the morning, we dismissed the savage, and gave him a knife, a bracelet, and a ring. He promised within a night or two to come again, and to bring with him some of the Massasoits, our neighbors, with such beavers' skins as they had to truck[4] with us.

Saturday and Sunday, reasonable fair days. On this day came again the savage, and brought with him five other tall, proper men. They had every man a deer's

[1] By.

[2] The fight took place at Martha's Vineyard, July 1, 1620.

[3] This Captain Hunt had kidnapped Indians, and carried them to Spain as slaves. The monks of Malaga set them at liberty.

[4] Trade.

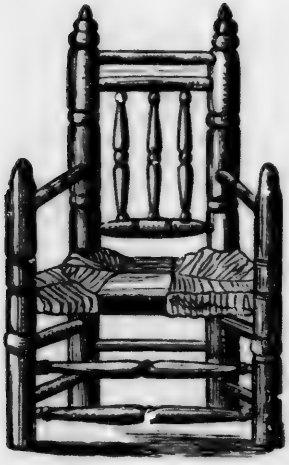
skin on him; and the principal of them had a wildcat's skin, or such like, on the one arm. They had, most of them, long hose up to their groins, close made, and above their groins, to their waist, another leather: they were altogether like the Irish trousers. They are of complexion like our English gypsies; no hair, or very little, on their faces; on their heads, long hair to their shoulders, only cut before, — some trussed up before with a feather, broad-wise, like a fan; another, a fox-tail hanging out. These left — according to our charge given him before — their bows and arrows a quarter a mile of from our town.

We gave them entertainment as we thought was fitting them. They did eat liberally of our English victuals. They made semblance unto us of friendship and amity. They sang and danced after their manner like antics.[1] They brought with them in a thing like a bow-case — which the principal of them had about his waist — a little of their corn pounded to powder, which, put to a little water, they eat. He had a little tobacco in his bag; but none of them drank[2] but when he liked. Some of them had their faces painted black, from the forehead to the chin, four or five fingers broad; others after other fashions, as they liked.

They brought three or four skins; but we would not truck with them at all that day, but wished them to bring more, and we would truck for all; which they promised within a night or two, and would leave these behind them, though we were not willing they should; and they brought us all our tools again, which were taken in the woods, in our men's absence. So, because

[1] Clowns. [2] Smoked.

of the day, we dismissed them as soon as we could. But Samoset, our first acquaintance, either was sick, or feigned himself so, and would not go with them, and staid with us till Wednesday morning. Then we sent him to them to know the reason they came not according to their words; and we gave him a hat, a pair of stockings and shoes, a shirt, and a piece of cloth to tie about his waist.



GOV. CARVER'S CHAIR.

BOOK XV.

THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY.

(A.D. 1629–1631.)

The first of these extracts is from Rev. Francis Higginson's "True Relation of the Last Voyage to New England, written from New England, July 24, 1629," reprinted in Young's "Chronicles of the First Planters of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay:" Boston, 1846 (pp. 235–237). The second is from the same work: (Young, pp. 232–235). The third is from "New England's Plantation; or, A Short and True Description of the Commodities and Discommodities of that Country," by Francis Higginson: London, 1630: (Young, pp. 242–256). This pamphlet attracted so much attention, that three distinct editions of it were published in a year.

The next two passages are from "Life and Letters of John Winthrop" (vol. ii. pp. 15–16, 64–65). The last passage is from the "Memoirs of Captain Roger Clap:" (Young, pp. 351–354).

THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY.

I. — The Voyage of the Massachusetts Colonists.

[The first large colony of the Massachusetts Bay Company sailed from England in April, 1629, with two hundred people; Governor Endicott, with "a few men," having preceded them the year before. The Reverend Francis Higginson was the leader of this larger party. These were the colonists properly called Puritans, as distinct from the Pilgrims, who settled Plymouth.]

NOW in our passage divers things are remarkable.

First, through God's blessing, our passage was short and speedy; for whereas we had a thousand leagues, that is, three thousand miles English, to sail from Old to New England, we performed the same in six weeks and three days.

Secondly, our passage was comfortable and easy, for the most part, having ordinarily fair and moderate wind, and being freed, for the most part, from rough and stormy seas, saving one night only, which we that were not used thought to be more terrible than indeed it was; and this was Wednesday at night, May 27.

Thirdly, our passage was also healthful to our passengers, being freed from the great contagion of the scurvy and other maledictions,[1] which in other passages to other places had taken away the lives of many. And yet we were, in all reason, in wonderful danger all the way, our ship being greatly crowded with passengers; but, through God's great goodness, we had none that died of the pox, but that wicked fellow that scorned at fasting and prayer. There were, indeed, two little children, — one of my own, and another beside: but I do not impute it merely to the passage; for they were both very sickly children, and not likely to have lived long if they had not gone to sea. And take this for a rule, if children be healthful when they come to sea, the younger they are, the better they will endure the sea, and are not troubled with sea-sickness as older people are, as we had experience in many children that went this voyage. My wife, indeed, in tossing weather, was something ill; . . . but in calm weather she recovered again, and is now much better for the sea-sickness. And for my own part, whereas I have for divers years past been very sickly, . . . and was very sick at London and Gravesend, yet from the time I came on shipboard to this day I have been strangely healthful; and now I can digest our ship diet very well, which I could not when I was at land. . . . Also divers children

FRANCIS HIGGINSON.

[1] Maladies.

were sick of the smallpox, but are safely recovered again; and two or three passengers, towards the latter end of the voyage, fell sick of the scurvy, but, coming to land, recovered in a short time.

Fourthly, our passage was both pleasurable and profitable; for we received instruction and delight in beholding the wonders of the Lord in the deep waters, and sometimes seeing the sea round us appearing with a terrible countenance, and, as it were, full of high hills and deep valleys; and sometimes it appeared as a most plain and even meadow. And ever and anon we saw divers kinds of fishes sporting in the great waters, great grampuses and huge whales going by companies, and puffing up water-streams. Those that love their own chimney-corner, and dare not go far beyond their own town's end, shall never have the honor to see these wonderful works of Almighty God.

II. — The Massachusetts Bay Colonists in Salem Harbor.

Friday a foggy morning, but after clear, and wind calm. We saw many schools of mackerel, infinite multitudes on every side of our ship. The sea was abundantly stored with rockweed and yellow flowers like gilliflowers. By noon we were within three leagues of Cape Ann; and, as we sailed along the coasts, we saw every hill and dale, and every island, full of gay woods and high trees. The nearer we came to the shore, the more flowers in abundance, — sometimes scattered abroad, sometimes joined in sheets nine or ten

yards long, which we supposed to be brought from the low meadows by the tide.[1] Now what, with fine woods and green trees by land, and these yellow flowers painting the sea, made us all desirous to see our new paradise of New England, whence we saw such forerunning signal[2] of fertility afar off. Coming near the harbor towards night, we tacked about for sea-room.

Saturday a foggy morning, but, after eight o'clock in the morning, very clear. The wind being somewhat contrary at south and by west, we tacked to and again with getting little, but with much ado. About four o'clock in the afternoon, having with much pain compassed the harbor, and being ready to enter the same, (see how things may suddenly change!) there came a fearful gust of wind and rain, and thunder and lightning, whereby we were borne with no little terror and trouble to our mariners, having very much ado to loose down the sails when the fury of the storm stru us. But, God be praised! it lasted but a while, and soon abated again. And hereby the Lord showed us what he could have done with us, if it had pleased him. But, blessed be God! he soon removed this storm, and it was a fair and sweet evening.

We had a westerly wind, which brought us, between five and six o'clock, to a fine and sweet harbor[3] seven miles from the head-point of Cape Ann. This harbor twenty ships may easily ride therein; where there was an island,[4] whither four of our men with a boat went,

[1] These may have been buttercups washed from the shore. It has also been supposed that they might be *actiniæ*, or sea-anemones, torn from the rocks.

[2] i.e., signs of fertility, seen in advance.

[3] Gloucester harbor. [4] Ten-Pound Island.

and brought back again ripe strawberries and gooseberries, and sweet single roses. Thus God was merciful to us in giving us a taste and smell of the sweet fruit as an earnest of his bountiful goodness to welcome us at our first arrival. This harbor was two leagues and something more from the harbor at Naimkecke,[1] where our ships were to rest, and the plantation is already begun. But because the passage is difficult, and night drew on, we put into Cape Ann harbor.

The sabbath, being the first we kept in America, and the seventh Lord's Day after we parted with England.

Monday we came from Cape Ann to go to Naimkecke, the wind northerly. I should have told you before, that, the planters spying our English colors, the governor[2] sent a shallop with two men to pilot us. These rested the sabbath with us at Cape Ann; and this day, by God's blessing and their directions, we passed the curious and difficult entrance into the large, spacious harbor of Naimkecke. And, as we passed along, it was wonderful to behold so many islands, replenished with thick wood and high trees, and many fair, green pastures. And, being come into the harbor, we saw the "George," to our great comfort, there being come on Tuesday, which was seven days before us.

GOVERNOR ENDICOTT.

1 Afterwards Salem.

2 John Endicott, who had arrived in September, 1628.

We rested that night with glad and thankful hearts that God had put an end to our long and tedious journey through the greatest sea in the world.

The next morning, the governor came aboard to our ship, and bade us kindly welcome, and invited me and my wife to come on shore, and take our lodging in his house, which we did accordingly.

III. — Fire, Air, Earth, and Water in New England.

[As described by Francis Higginson, 1629.]

Letting pass our voyage by sea, we will now begin our discourse on the shore of New England. And because the life and welfare of every creature here below, and the commodiousness of the country whereas such creatures live, doth, by the most wise ordering of God's providence, depend, next unto himself, upon the temperature and disposition of the four elements, earth, water, air, and fire, . . . therefore I will endeavor to show you what New England is, by the consideration of each of these apart; and truly endeavor, by God's help, to report nothing but the naked truth, and that both to tell you of the discommodities as well as of the commodities. Though, as the idle proverb is, "Travellers may lie by authority," and so may take too much sinful liberty that way, yet I may say of myself, as once Nehemiah did in another case, Shall such a man as I lie? No, verily. . . .

Of the Earth of New England.

It is a land of divers and sundry sorts all about Masathulets[1] Bay; and at Charles River is as fat black earth as can be seen anywhere; and in other places you have a clay soil; in other, gravel; in other, sandy, as it is all about our plantation at Salem; for so our town is now named.

FIRST CHURCH IN SALEM.

The form of the earth here, in the superficies of it, is neither too flat in the plainness, nor too high in hills, but partakes of both in a mediocrity, and fit for pasture, or for plough or meadow ground, as men please to employ it. Though all the country be, as it were, a thick wood for the general, yet in divers places there is much ground cleared by the Indians, and especially

[1] Massachusetts.

about the plantation; and I am told, that, about three miles from us, a man may stand on a little hilly place, and see divers thousands of acres of ground as good as need to be, and not a tree in the same. . . .

In our plantation we have already a quart of milk for a penny. But the abundant increase of corn proves this country to be a wonderment. Thirty, forty, fifty, sixty, are ordinary here: yea, Joseph's increase in Egypt is outstripped here with us. Our planters hope to have more than a hundred-foid this year. And all this while I am within compass: what will you say of two-hundred-fold, and upwards? It is almost incredible what great gain some of our English planters have had by our Indian corn. Credible persons have assured me, and the party himself avouched the truth of it to me, that, of the setting of thirteen gallons of corn, he hath had increase of it fifty-two hogsheads, every hogshead holding seven bushels of London measure; and every bushel was by him sold and trusted to the Indians for so much beaver as was worth eighteen shillings; and so of this thirteen gallons of corn, which was worth six shillings eightpence, he made about £327 of it the year following, as by reckoning will appear: where you may see how God blesseth husbandry in this land. There is not such great and plentiful ears of corn, I suppose, anywhere else to be found but in this country, being also of variety of colors, as red, blue, and yellow, &c.; and of one corn there springeth four or five hundred. I have sent you many ears of divers colors, that you might see the truth of it.

Little children here, by setting of corn, may earn much more than their own maintenance. . . .

For beasts, there are some bears, and they say some lions also; for they have been seen at Cape Ann. Also here are several sorts of deer, some whereof bring three or four young ones at once, which is not ordinary in England; also wolves, foxes, beavers, martens, great wildcats, and a great beast called a molke,[1] as big as an ox. I have seen the skins of all these beasts since I came to this plantation, excepting lions. Also here are great store of squirrels, — some greater, and some smaller and lesser: there are some of the lesser sort, they tell me, that by a certain skin will fly from tree to tree,[2] though they stand far distant.

Of the Water of New England.

New England hath water enough, both salt and fresh. The greatest sea in the world, the Atlantic Sea, runs all along the coast thereof. There are abundance of islands along the shore, some full of wood and mast, to feed swine, and others clear of wood, and fruitful, to bear corn. Also we have store of excellent harbors for ships, as at Cape Ann, and at Masathulets Bay, and at Salem, and at many other places; and they are the better, because for strangers there is a very difficult and dangerous passage into them; but unto such as are well acquainted with them they are easy and safe enough. The abundance of sea-fish are almost beyond believing; and sure I should scarce have believed it, except I had seen it with mine own eyes. I saw great store of whales, and grampuses, and such abundance of mack-

[1] Probably the moose. The lions were imaginary.

[2] The flying-squirrel, which has a membrane connecting the fore and hind paws on each side.

erels, that it would astonish one to behold; likewise codfish, abundance on the coast, and in their season are plentifully taken. There is a fish called a bass, a most sweet and wholesome fish as ever I did eat: it is altogether as good as our fresh salmon; and the season of their coming was begun when we came first to New England in June, and so continued about three months' space. Of this fish our fishers take many hundreds together, which I have seen lying on the shore, to my admiration. Yea, their nets ordinarily take more than they are able to haul to land; and, for want of boats and men, they are constrained to let a many go after they have taken them; and yet sometimes they fill two boats at a time with them. And, besides bass, we take plenty of skate and thornback, and abundance of lobsters; and the least boy in the plantation may both catch and eat what he will of them. For my own part, I was soon cloyed with them, they were so great and fat and luscious. I have seen some myself that have weighed sixteen pound; but others have had, divers times, so great lobsters as have weighed twenty-five pound, as they assured me. . . .

Of the Air of New England.

The temper of the air of New England is one special thing that commends this place. Experience doth manifest that there is hardly a more healthful place to be found in the world that agreeth better with our English bodies. Many that have been weak and sickly in Old England, by coming hither have been thoroughly healed, and grown healthful and strong; for here is a most extraordinary clear and dry air, that is of a most

healing nature to all such as are of a cold, melancholy, phlegmatic, rheumatic temper of body. None can more truly speak hereof by their own experience than myself. My friends that knew me can well tell how very sickly I have been, and continually in physic. . . .

And I that have not gone without a cap for many years together, neither durst leave off the same, have now cast away my cap, and do wear none at all in the daytime. And whereas beforetime I clothed myself with double clothes and thick waistcoats to keep me warm, even in the summer-time, I do now go as thin clad as any. . . . Besides, I have one of my children, that was formerly most lamentably handled with sore breaking out of both his hands and feet, of the king's-evil; but since he came hither he is very well [as] ever he was, and there is hope of perfect recovery shortly, even by the very wholesomeness of the air, altering, digesting, and drying up the cold and crude humors of the body; and therefore I think it is a wise course for all cold complexions to come to take physic in New England; for a sup of New England's air is better than a whole draught of Old England's ale.

In the summer-time, in the midst of July and August, it is a good deal hotter than in Old England; and in winter January and February are much colder, so they say; but the spring and autumn are of a middle temper.

Fowls of the air are plentiful here, and of all sorts as we have in England, as far as I can learn, and a great many of strange fowls which we know not. Whilst I was writing these things, one of our men brought home an eagle which he had killed in the wood: they say

they are good meat. Also here are many kinds of excellent hawks, both sea-hawks and land-hawks; and myself walking in the woods, with another in company, sprung a partridge so big, that through the heaviness of his body could fly but a little way: they that have killed them say they are as big as our hens. Here are likewise abundance of turkeys often killed in the woods, far greater than our English turkeys, and exceeding fat, sweet, and fleshy; for here they have abundance of feeding all the year long, as strawberries, — in summer all places are full of them, — and all manner of berries and fruits. In the winter-time I have seen flocks of pigeons, and have eaten of them. They do fly from tree to tree, as other birds do, which our pigeons will not do in England. They are of all colors, as ours are; but their wings and tails are much longer; and therefore it is likely they fly swifter to escape the terrible hawks in this country. In winter-time this country doth abound with wild geese, wild ducks, and other sea-fowl, that a great part of winter the planters have eaten nothing but roast meat of divers fowls which they have killed.

Of the Fire of New England.

Thus you have heard of the earth, water, and air of New England. Now it may be you expect something to be said of the fire, proportionable to the rest of the elements.

Indeed, I think New England may boast of this element more than of all the rest. For though it be here somewhat cold in the winter, yet here we have plenty of fire to warm us, and that a great deal cheaper than they sell billets and fagots in London: nay, all Europe

is not able to afford to make so great fires as New England. A poor servant here, that is to possess but fifty acres of land, may afford to give more wood for timber and fire, as good as the world yields, than many noblemen in England can afford to do. Here is good living for those that love good fires. And although New England have no tallow to make candles of, yet, by the abundance of the fish thereof, it can afford oil for lamps. Yea, our pine-trees, that are the most plentiful of all wood, doth allow us plenty of candles, which are very useful in a house; and they are such candles as the Indians commonly use, having no other; and they are nothing else but the wood of the pine-tree cloven in two little slices something thin, which are so full of turpentine and pitch, that they burn as clear as a torch. I have sent you some of them that you may see the experience of them.

New England's Discommodities.[1]

Thus of New England's commodities. Now I will tell you of some discommodities that are here to be found.

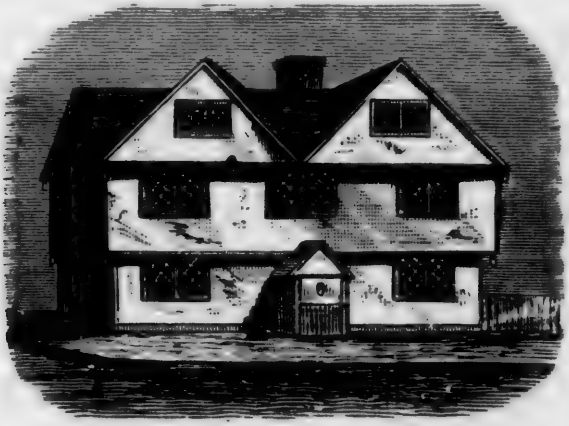
First, in the summer season, for these three months June, July, and August, we are troubled much with little flies called mosquitoes, being the same they are troubled with in Lincolnshire and the fens; and they are nothing but gnats, which, except they be smoked out of their houses, are troublesome in the night season.

Secondly, in the winter season, for two months' space, the earth is commonly covered with snow, which is accompanied with sharp, biting frosts, something more

[1] Inconveniences.

sharp than is in Old England, and therefore are forced to make great fires.

Thirdly, this country, being very full of woods and wildernesses, doth also much abound with snakes and serpents, of strange colors and huge greatness. Yea, there are some serpents, called rattlesnakes, that have rattles in their tails, that will not fly from a man as others will, but will fly upon him, and sting him so mortally that he will die within a quarter of an hour after, except the party stinged have about him some of the



OLD PLANTER'S HOUSE AT SALEM.

root of an herb called snake-weed to bite on: and then he shall receive no harm. But yet seldom falls it out that any hurt is done by these. About three years since, an Indian was stung to death by one of them; but we heard of none since that time.

Fourthly and lastly, here wants as yet the good company of honest Christians, to bring with them horses, kine, and sheep, to make use of this fruitful land. Great pity it is to see so much good ground for corn and for grass as any is under the heavens, to lie alto-

gether unoccupied, when so many honest men and their families in Old England, through the populousness thereof, do make very hard shift to live one by the other.

IV. — A Sea-Adventure of the Puritan Colonists.

[Governor John Winthrop, with a large number of colonists, sailed from England in April, 1630. Seventeen vessels came to the Massachusetts Colony that year, bringing nearly a thousand people. England was then at war with Spain; and many Spanish cruisers made their rendezvous at Dunkirk, and other ports in the Spanish Netherlands, whence they were called "Dunkirkers."]

April 9. — In the morning we descried from the top, eight sail astern of us, whom Captain Lowe told us he had seen at Dunnose in the evening. We supposing they might be Dunkirkers, our captain caused the gun-room and gundeck to be cleared. All the hammocks were taken down, our ordnance loaded, and our powder-chests and fireworks made ready, and our landmen quartered among the seamen, and twenty-five of them appointed for muskets, and every man written down for his quarter.[1]

The wind continued north, with fair weather; and after noon it calmed, and we still saw those eight ships to stand towards us. Having more wind than we, they came up apace: so as our captain, and the masters of our consorts, were more occasioned to think they might be Dunkirkers; for we were told at Yarmouth that there were ten sail of them waiting for us. Whereupon we all prepared to fight with them, and took down some

[1] i.e., assigned to a certain place in the ship.

cabins which were in the way of our ordnance; and out of every ship were thrown such bed-matters as were subject to take fire; and we heaved out our long-boats, and put up our waist-cloths,[1] and drew forth our men, and armed them with muskets and other weapons, and instruments for fireworks; and, for an experiment, our captain shot a ball of wildfire, fastened to an arrow, out of a crossbow, which burnt in the water a good time.

The Lady Arbella[2] and the other women and children were removed into the lower deck, that they might be out of danger. All things being thus fitted, we went to prayer upon the upper deck. It was much to see how cheerful and comfortable all the company appeared. Not a woman or child that showed fear, though all did apprehend the danger to have been great, if things had proved as might well be expected; for there had been eight against four, and the least of the enemy's ships were reported to carry thirty brass pieces. But our trust was in the Lord of hosts; and the courage of our captain, and his care and diligence, did much encourage us.

It was now about one of the clock, and the fleet seemed to be within a league of us: therefore our captain, because he would show he was not afraid of them, and that he might see the issue before night should overtake us, tacked about, and stood to meet them. And, when we came near, we perceived them to be our friends, — the "Little Neptune," a ship of some twenty

[1] To protect the sides of the vessel.

[2] Lady Arbella Johnson, daughter of the Earl of Lincoln, and wife of Isaac Johnson, to whom the settlement of Boston was chiefly due. She died soon after her arrival.

pieces of ordnance, and her two consorts, bound for the straits; a ship of Flushing, and a Frenchman, and three other English ships, bound for Canada and Newfoundland. So, when we drew near, every ship, as they met, saluted each other, and the musketeers discharged their small shot; and so, God be praised! our fear and danger was turned into mirth and friendly entertainment.

V. — Governor Winthrop's Night out of Doors.

The governor, being at his farm-house at Mistick,[1] walked out after supper, and took a piece[2] in his hand, supposing he might see a wolf; for they came daily about the house, and killed swine and calves, &c. And, being about half a mile off, it grew suddenly dark, so as in coming home he mistook his path, and went till he came to a little house of Sagamore John,[3] which stood empty. There he staid; and, having a piece of match in his pocket, — for he always carried about him match and a compass, and, in summer-time, snakeweed, — he made a good fire near the house, and lay down upon some old mats which he

GOVERNOR WINTHROP.

[1] A part of Medford, Mass. The farm still retains the name which he gave it, — "Ten-Hills Farm." [2] Gun.

[3] This chief is described by Governor Dudley as "a handsome young man, conversant with us, affecting English apparel and houses, and speaking well of our God."

found there, and so spent the night, sometimes walking by the fire, sometimes singing psalms, and sometimes getting wood, but could not sleep. It was, through God's mercy, a warm night,[1] but, a little before day, it began to rain; and, having no cloak, he made shift by a long pole to climb up into the house. In the morning, there came thither an Indian squaw; but, perceiving her before she had opened the door, he barred her out: yet she stay there a great while, essaying to get in, and at last she went away, and he returned safe home, his servants having been much perplexed for him, and having walked about, and shot off pieces, and hallooed in the night; but he heard them not.

VI. — The Privations of the Puritans.

Now coming into this country, I found it a vacant wilderness in respect of English. There were, indeed, some English at Plymouth and Salem, and some few at Charlestown, who were very destitute when we came ashore; and, planting-time being past shortly after, provision was not to be had for money. I wrote to my friends, namely, to my dear father, to send me some provision; which accordingly he did, and also gave order to one of his neighbors to supply me with what I needed, he being a seaman, who, coming hither, supplied me with divers things. . . . Fish was a good help to me and others. Bread was so very scarce, that sometimes I thought the very crusts of my father's

[1] Oct. 11, 1631

table would have been very sweet unto me. And, when I could have meal and water and salt boiled together, it was so good, who could wish better?

In our beginning, many were in great straits for want of provision for themselves and their little ones. Oh the hunger that many suffered, and saw no hope in an

FAMINE AMONG THE PILGRIMS.

eye of reason to be supplied, only by clams and mussels and fish! We did quickly build boats, and some went a-fishing. But bread was with many a very scarce thing, and flesh of all kind as scarce.

And in those days, in our straits, though I cannot say God sent a raven to feed us, as he did the prophet Elijah, yet this I can say to the praise of God's glory, that he sent not only poor ravenous Indians, who came

with their baskets of corn on their backs to trade with us, which was a good supply unto many; but also sent ships from Holland and Ireland with provisions, and Indian corn from Virginia, to supply the wants of his dear servants in this wilderness, both for food and raiment. And when people's wants were great, not only in one town, but in divers towns, such was the godly wisdom, care, and prudence — not selfishness, but self-denial — of our Governor Winthrop and his assistants, that, when a ship came laden with provisions, they did order that the whole cargo should be bought for a general stock; and so accordingly it was, and distribution was made to every town, as every man had need. Thus God was pleased to care for his people in times of straits, and to fill his servants with food and gladness. Then did all the servants of God bless his holy name, and love one another with pure hearts fervently.

In those days God did cause his people to trust in him, and to be contented with mean things. It was not accounted a strange thing in those days to drink water, and to eat samp or hominy without butter or milk. Indeed, it would have been a strange thing to see a piece of roast beef, mutton, or veal; though it was not long before there was roast goat. After the first winter, we were very healthy, though some of us had no great store of corn. The Indians did sometimes bring corn, and truck with us for clothing and knives; and once I had a peck of corn, or thereabouts, for a little puppy-dog. Frost-fish, mussels, and clams, were a relief to many. If our provision be better now than it was then, let us not, and do you, dear children, take heed that you do not, forget the Lord our God.

You have better food and raiment than was in former times; but have you better hearts than your forefathers had? If so, rejoice in that mercy, and let New England then shout for joy. Sure, all the people of God in other parts of the world, that shall hear that the children and grandchildren of the first planters of New England have better hearts and are more heavenly than their predecessors, they will doubtless greatly rejoice, and will say. "This is the generation whom the Lord hath blessed."

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